Common Sense Renewed.

by
Robert Christian

No. 96 of 100

Robert Christian

Common Sense Renewed

Robert Christian



The Georgia Guidestones

Common Sense Renewed

By Robert Christian

Graphic Publishing Company, Inc.
Lake Mills, Iowa

Printed by Graphic Publishing Company, Inc.
Lake Mills, Iowa

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 85-82573
ISBN 0-89279-078-4

Contents

Preface

At harvest time primitive farmers separate their grain by beating the stalks with flails on a threshing floor. They remove the loose straw, leaving a residue of grain, chaff, and dust.

This mixture is purified by winnowing—tossing it into the air to permit the empty husks and useless debris to be carried away on the wind. The grain kernels fall back where they can be recovered and put to use by the community.

I was privileged to be born an American at a time when our nation had achieved high levels of political liberty and material comforts for our people. I have enjoyed the benefits of our society and have had opportunity to observe the passing scene from a vantage point which has exposed me to human beings in all walks of life, representing a wide spectrum of political, religious, and economic views.

Having reached the harvest time of my own life, I feel a duty to share with you a few thoughts gained in my brief existence as a member of the human family.

Like primitive farmers, I place these ideas on the threshing floor of the public forum where that which is useless or in error —the straw, if you will—can be separated by the flails of critical discussion. I am hopeful that when the residual chaff has been winnowed away there will remain a few kernels which can be added to the store of human wisdom in a manner that will contribute to the general welfare.

I have no pretensions to authority. I am a plain citizen, without scholarly stature or political experience. I present herein certain views dealing with a variety of subjects. Some of these thoughts, particularly those which relate to my private concepts of the cosmos and of our role within it, may offend certain of my readers because of seeming conflicts with their own cherished beliefs and traditions. It is not my intent to stir up controversy. Each of us is entitled to private views gained through personal experience. I do not challenge the opinion of anyone in these matters. I simply present my thoughts for

those who seek to review a variety of opinions when dealing with controversial matters. Others may ignore them. I have attempted to seek Truth beginning from a starting point in space, and time, and cultural immersion which was determined for me by the accidents of human history. Each life is unique. We follow individual pathways to the grave. We cannot control many of the elements which determine our destinies and simply do the best we can with the opportunities which come our way.

I seek that degree of toleration and understanding which you would grant a family member whose philosophical views seem at first glance to be outlandish or out of step with the beliefs of others.

If you cannot agree with my views I ask only that you will base your contrary opinions on solid evidence and common sense, and that you will not permit your judgment to be overwhelmed by unreasoning faith in a manner that ignores honest evidence.

Collective human intelligence is capable of discovering acceptable solutions for the problems which confront us. We must work together to direct political and moral influences through channels of wisdom, not channels of brute force, or ambition.

Using common sense as our guide we must unite with the entire human family in establishing a *limited* world government capable of settling international disputes through a system of law. We must establish as a parallel objective the building of an enduring balance between human activities and the world of nature.

These will be first steps in creating an enduring Age of Reason.

Robert Christian

I

Common Sense Renewed

OVER TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO a perceptive Englishman, Tom Paine, arrived in America in the early stages of our struggle for independence. He came with the encouragement of Benjamin Franklin, who shared with him a desire for peaceful resolution of the frictions which had developed between the Colonies and Great Britain. Paine became incensed by the autocratic aspects of British rule. He summarized his beliefs in a tract entitled "Common Sense," which brought the issues into focus for the general public. He appealed to reason as the proper tool for resolving our problems peacefully. Unfortunately, human intransigence made war inevitable.

Today the world is confronted by increasing portents of nuclear war. It is essential more than ever before that we explore every means for rational, nonviolent resolution of worldly frictions. Once again we must look to common sense to find new pathways to peace.

These essays are addressed to open-minded citizens of all national, political, and religious persuasions who are willing to review our problems in the light of collective reason. Let us end once and for all the ultimate abomination—war. Let us stamp out politically motivated terrorism and assassination. I speak as a private citizen of the United States, professing neither great wisdom nor prophetic power. I do believe that human prob-

lems can be solved through nonviolent means. The difficulties which hamper our search for peace are rooted in our natures.

My personal religious beliefs are based imperfectly on those of Christ, as adapted to my understanding of reality. I can easily live in peace with others who hold quite different views, for I recognize the uncertainty of all human knowledge and the disparity of opinion which often marks appraisals by different individuals who view a common subject from widely separated viewpoints. Even our most dogmatic beliefs may prove to be in error when viewed against a background of new understanding. History is replete with human suffering which has resulted from inflexibility of belief, especially in the areas of religion and politics.

For more than 60 years I have benefited from the American political system which was built through the labors and sufferings of our forebears. Some of my ancestors participated in the major wars which forged and preserved our liberties. They were represented in the armies of George Washington, and of both the North and the South in the period of our Civil war. I voice my views from a sense of obligation to them and to all who have helped to make our nation a stronghold for freedom and a home for democratic principles.

Like all human beings, I entered this existence without my volition or consent. I share the gift of life with you and with myriads of other forms. We humans open our eyes and behold a universe, with mysterious and vast dimensions which range beyond our understanding.

Questions about our role or purpose find only tentative and uncertain answers. Most of us are content to accept on faith the teachings of religious leaders that we are significant agents of a Supreme Being. We sense an obligation to live in accord with natural "laws" we discern in the world around us. We observe within our nature certain talents and a small degree of intelligence. We accept an implied obligation to pursue goodness and truth.

Instincts acquired in more than two billion years of evolutionary struggle for survival live on within our physical natures. They impel us to continue and to further improve our own species. Inborn curiosity and dynamism stimulate us to explore our world, seeking out challenges and answers. Imagination and altruism inspire us to envision a future in which we will

govern our animal nature and assume a guiding role over all living things in accordance with our best spiritual and intellectual capacities.

We live in a time of great peril. Humanity and the proud achievements of its infancy on earth are in grave danger. Our knowledge has outstripped wisdom. We have controlled disease, but have not regulated our numbers. We have advanced our understanding in the natural sciences but have not adequately controlled our baser animal instincts. We have begun to accept the rule of law but have limited its application, permitting it to regulate the affairs of individuals and of small political divisions while we neglect to use it in controlling major aggression. We have outlawed the use of murder and violence in resolving individual disputes, but have failed to develop procedures to peacefully settle conflicts between nations.

Meanwhile, we have made the world an atomic tinderbox. We cannot permit the present condition to continue. We must change our traditions. Devising effective political mechanisms to control the conduct of nations is not an impossible task. It should be viewed as a scientific and social challenge which demands the immediate attention of the wisest human heads in all the family of nations.

The world is devoting intense effort and lavish funding to developing ever more sophisticated weapons in an arms race which at this moment shows little prospect of ending in peace.

We and the Soviet Union are directing vast resources and intense intellectual effort to the exploration of space. This is not intrinsically wrong, but it diverts attention from much more pressing problems. We must all rearrange our priorities to reflect a logical appraisal of the more urgent *political* dilemmas which confront us.

Nowhere do we observe proper concern for devising political arrangements that will assure international peace and the free flow of commerce and knowledge while preserving for each nation reasonable autonomy within its borders. Surely this is not an insurmountable task for our collective intelligence.

There *must* be alternatives to war which will be acceptable to and welcomed by the mass of humanity. We must now make an organized world-wide effort to find them and to apply them to the affairs of mankind. *This* is the greatest challenge facing us in the atomic era.

The Soviet Union and the United States are both powerful nations. Differences in political philosophy have divided the family of nations into two large camps, and these have gathered around the two major powers, sharing to some degree the views which make those powers rivals. The rivalry is rooted in the momentum of historical behavior patterns which date back to another, far different era. But those patterns, passively accepted, become chains which prevent rational behavior from meeting the challenges of today. The leaders of our two countries can cast off those restraints and direct our affairs to establish new political mechanisms capable of logically resolving the frictions which presently characterize our mutual relationships.

Is it unthinkable that America and the Soviet Union could unite as political partners? Can we not assume the role of wiser and stronger elders in guiding the family of man through the present dangers into a future ruled by human reason? Is not this prospect an appealing alternative to nuclear war? Achieving that partnership is vastly more important than exploring the moon. It will be immeasurably more productive of good for humanity than all the futile, frantic preparations for war which now distract us.

Human intelligence is capable of devising solutions to all of our problems—war, population control, justice under law, and the progressive improvement and perfection of our species as the shepherd of life on earth.

I recognize the differences which separate my understanding of reality from that of religionists who interpret the Bible and other ancient documents in a literal fashion. If we had lived identical lives and reviewed the same evidence together we would probably agree on most things. But we have come to this moment by different paths. Let us set aside our disagreements and focus our minds and ideals on the urgent task at hand: to resolve our mutual problems as citizens of a shared but troubled planet.

Truth will prevail when we seek it honestly. We can discover agreement in many areas even while we mutually respect our rights to disagree.

Let us challenge the citizens of the Soviet Union and other nations to join with us in seeking the common ground upon

which all nations can achieve an enduring and peaceful partnership.

Open and verifiable cooperation between the major powers can provide a beginning for the coming Age of Reason.

II

The Georgia Guidestones

IT IS PROBABLE THAT HUMANITY possesses even now the knowledge needed to establish limited but effective world government. That knowledge must be propagated in the consciousness of all mankind. The hearts of our human family must be touched and warmed to welcome a global rule by reason.

The group consciousness of our race is blind and perverse, and is easily distracted by trivia when it should be focused on Fundamentals. We are in a critical era. Population pressures are creating political and economic crises throughout the world. These make more difficult the building of a rational world society.

A first step will be to convince a doubting world that such a society is possible. Let us keep in view enduring appeals to the collective reason of humanity. Let us draw attention to basic problems. Let us establish proper priorities. We must order our home here on this planet before we reach for the stars.

Human reason is the most powerful agency on earth. We must make humanity aware that compassionate, enlightened reason can control our destiny within the limits inherent in our natures.

It is difficult to seed wisdom in closed minds. Cultural inertias are not easily overcome. Unfolding world events and the sad record of our race dramatize the shortcomings of traditional

agencies in governing human affairs. Increasing crises may make mankind willing to accept a system of limited world law that will stress the responsibility of nations to regulate their internal affairs, and assist them in the peaceful resolution of international frictions. With such a system we could eliminate war and provide every person an opportunity to seek a life of purpose and fulfilment.

There are alternatives to Armageddon. They are attainable. But they will not happen without coordinated efforts by millions of dedicated people in all nations.

I am the originator of the Georgia Guidestones and the sole author of its inscriptions. I have had the assistance of a number of other American citizens in bringing the monument into being. We have no mysterious purpose or ulterior motives. We seek common sense pathways to a peaceful world, without bias for particular creeds or philosophies. Yet our message is in some areas controversial. I have chosen to remain anonymous in order to avoid debate and contention. Our guides must stand on their own merits.

Stonehenge and other vestiges of ancient thought arouse our curiosity but carry no message for human guidance. The Guidestones have been erected to convey certain ideas across time to others. We hope that these silent stones and their inscriptions will merit a degree of approval and acceptance down the centuries, and by their silent persistence hasten in small ways the dawning of an age of reason.

Two interested citizens of Elberton, Georgia, have been instrumental in bringing this project to completion. They are not sponsors, but have given invaluable assistance. They have served without compensation through motives of public service, even though they may not necessarily agree with the author in all his beliefs. Mr. Wyatt Martin, who has an interest in Georgia's history, served as the project's fiscal agent. He assisted in selecting a site for the monument that would provide public access while remaining within budgetary limits. He enlisted community support for a small public park as a site for the monument.

Mr. Joe Fendley, presently the mayor of Elberton, quarried the massive stones, engraved on them our message, and erected them on the site about eight miles north of Elberton.

The monument has been named the Georgia Guidestones. It consists of four large upright blocks of granite, each two meters wide and five meters high. They are arranged to mark the limiting positions of the rising and setting sun in summer and winter. They surround a central stone which is oriented north to south. A channel through this stone is aligned with the celestial pole. On its south face is a sundial marking noontime throughout the year on a closed curve figure which reflects the equation of time, correcting the variations between solar time and time as recorded with uniform human hours. The capstone is inscribed with an appeal to reason in four archaic languages. The monument is intended to combine certain attributes of the Rosetta stone and many of the standing stones which are to be observed throughout Europe as remnants of past human societies.

We believe each human being has a purpose and a significant place in the Divine plan of the universe. The celestial alignments of the stones symbolize our need to be in harmony with eternal principles manifest in our natures and in the universe around us.

The two large faces on each of the four central stones are inscribed with ten precepts or guides, the eight faces carrying the same text in a different language. The English version has fewer than one hundred words. The languages were selected for their historical significance and because of their use by people now living. It would not have been possible for us to represent each of the three thousand languages known to exist in the human family today.

It is hoped that as time passes other stones can be erected in outer circles to mark the migrations of the moon and possibly other celestial events. These stones would carry our thoughts in additional languages. Perhaps the stones will be copied in other lands by those who share our hope for a peaceful world based upon shared ethical values and a common respect for human reason.

The Guidestones are not intended to have sectarian appeal. They are a reminder of the challenges that face present and future generations of humanity. They are intended to encourage efforts to meet those challenges rationally, without favoring particular religions or political systems. We believe our

thoughts are rational proposals for dealing with the problems that confront us. They are intended to stimulate discussion and logical, compassionate action.

Humans are special creatures. We are shepherds for all earthly life. We are players in the eternal struggle between good and evil—the forces which build and those which destroy. We must strive to optimize our existence, both for ourselves and for those who will follow. We must accept the guiding role which we can infer from our observations of the human situation in the complete mantle of life on earth and in the universe of struggle, conflict, and endless change. Perhaps these phenomena reflect eternal turmoils in the very soul of God.

We appear to be the major agency through which good and evil qualities of the spirit become active in our world. Within us there are elements of love, mercy, and compassion. There also are hate, cruelty, and cold indifference. We appear to be the only agents capable of consciously working to improve this imperfect world. It is not enough for us to simply drift with the current. The rational world of tomorrow lies ever upstream.

The most pressing world environmental problem is the need to control human numbers. In recent centuries technology and abundant fuels have multiplied humanity far beyond what is prudent or long sustainable. We can foresee the impending exhaustion of certain energy sources and the depletion of many vital raw materials.

To control our reproduction is crucial. This will require major changes in our attitudes and customs. Unfortunately, the inertia of human habits can be extreme. This is especially true when those for whom custom is a dominant force are uninformed of the need for change.

Nearly every nation is overpopulated in terms of a perpetual balance with nature. We are like a fleet of overcrowded lifeboats confronted with an approaching tempest. In the United States we are seriously overtaxing our resources to maintain our current population in the existing state of prosperity. We are destroying our farmland, and have grown dangerously dependent upon external sources for oil, metals, and other nonrenewable resources. Nations such as Japan, Holland, and Haiti are even more seriously overpopulated and therefore in greater jeopardy.

Reproduction is no longer exclusively a personal matter. Society must have a voice and some power of direction in regulating this vital function. The desires of human couples are very important, but they must not neglect a consideration of society at large. The general welfare of this and future generations must be given increasing consideration as we develop plans for rational guidance of our procreation.

No person should be brought into the world unwanted and unneeded. No child should be conceived through carelessness. If each life is to have value, every conception must be part of an ordered plan of two parents who are aware of their responsibilities to that child and to society.

It is vitally important that each national government have a considered "Population Policy." The need is urgent and should take precedence over other problems, even those relating to national defense. Population control is a global problem. The actions of one nation have far reaching effects on others. Overcrowding human beings in conditions of squalor and ignorance is dehumanising. It is an evil which must not be tolerated.

Each nation must consider the present and future availability of all resources required for its long continuing survival. With proper allowances for the interchange of commodities that are overabundant in some areas and scarce in others, rational estimates must be made of the *optimum* population which can be sustained by those resources on a perpetual time scale. Each nation must make this determination for its own people. It may give assistance to its neighbors as it chooses and as its assistance is requested. But in the final analysis each nation must determine its own population goals and must formulate plans that will achieve them. No nation, having regulated its own population, should be expected to burden its citizens with the unwanted surplus of improvident neighbors.

Nations with optimum populations can provide comfort and education for their own citizens and can give assistance to others. They can be good *world* citizens. Nations which are overcrowded and poverty stricken are problems for the entire world community.

There are still significant reserves of fossil fuels and mineral resources, sufficient perhaps for a century of adjustment. But

time is running out. Immediate action is required to avert disaster.

A few generations of single child families will make possible dramatic improvements of living standards in even the most impoverished countries. In all nations a major determinant of living conditions will be the ratio of available resources to the number of citizens who must share them.

Irresponsible childbearing must be discouraged by legal and social pressures. Couples who cannot provide a decent home and support for a child should not produce children to be a burden for their neighbors. Bringing unneeded children into an overcrowded lifeboat is evil. It is unjust to those children. It is harmful for the other occupants and for all living things. Society should not encourage or subsidize such behaviour.

Knowledge and techniques for regulating human reproduction are now in existence. Moral and political leaders throughout the world have a grave responsibility to make this knowledge and these techniques generally available. This could be done with a fraction of the funds now devoted to military purposes. In the long run, such action could do more than anything else to reduce the tensions which lead to war.

Of the many means already available for controlling human fecundity, some are acceptable to most cultural groups; others are not. Better, safer, and more easily mass-applied techniques are urgently needed, especially in under-developed nations which are experiencing major reductions in death rates through basic medical and sanitation practices. Much controversy now rages over the acceptability of abortion as a last resort for eliminating unwanted pregnancies. Heat engendered by these discussions may subside somewhat as we better understand the nature of life, and discuss further the philosophical question of "ensoulment," or the acquisition of human nature by a fertilised ovum. We know that the human "zygote" perpetuates a flame of life which began on earth more than two billion years ago—a flame which has been transmitted from generation to generation in a continuous unfolding of the potentials for variety which were present in the first living cells. We cannot point out the precise moment in that ongoing succession of living things when life was transformed from something definitively less than human into a new form represent-

ing a higher order of life, awareness, and intelligence. Much evidence suggests that we are still very close to the anthropoid apes, not only in our general body structure and physiology, but also in the very precise patterns of the genetic coding within our chromosomes. It has been estimated that the several billion letters of our genetic alphabet differ in fewer than two percent. of their sequences from those of a gorilla.

We do know that the fertilized human egg is "totipotent"—capable of developing into a complete individual, or even into several identical individuals. But it has also been learned that all living cells in an individual human being—even skin or white blood cells—have within them identical potentials. Each is, in theory at least, capable of reproducing the individual from which they derive. Many plants and animals multiply asexually, reproducing themselves from body cells that are not a part of the reproductive organs. Fruit trees and many plants have been cloned in this manner for centuries, each generation duplicating the genetic nature of the original twig or bud from which the entire succession was derived. In recent years similar cloning has been achieved with certain animals, including some vertebrates. In theory a human being could be reproduced in like fashion.

A human body sheds millions of cells from its internal and external surfaces every day. Each of those cells appears capable of reproducing the complete body from which it falls.

Some dedicated and sincere opponents of abortion believe it is murder to destroy an early human embryo—even at the single cell stage of development. How these individuals will regard the implications of cloning human beings from skin cells is yet to be learned.

In the light of conventional wisdom and traditional morality, abortion must be considered an evil. But there can be even greater evils. Consider a pregnancy resulting from rape or incest—especially in a young girl whose body may have been invaded in a manner more repugnant than the military invasions of mere geography that result in wholesale killings of innocent young men drafted against their will into military service to fight against equally unwilling young men on the opposing side. Which killings are murder?

Sometimes we must choose the least evil within an array of evils. Certain abortions may be lesser evils than available alternatives and thus be morally defensible. Hopefully the development of absolutely effective methods for avoiding unwanted pregnancies will make these questions irrelevant. Our reproduction will become fully controllable through humane and rational means. Failure to utilize those means may ultimately be the greatest evil of all.

In these delicate areas of moral judgment humanity must rely on the collective conscience of our race. No single individual or group should impose its position on others until a consensus has been developed from the best informed and most compassionate spokesmen from all groups.

Each bird in a migrating flock has in its nervous system mechanisms for guiding its course to the north or to the south in a manner which depends upon faint perceptions of star patterns, magnetic fields, and solar motions. Yet those perceptions are so feeble that a single bird, relying upon its own impulses, might go astray. Nature has evolved patterns which group thousands of individuals into great flocks within which the tendencies of individuals are combined into a unified guiding force for the entire assembly. Perceptions of the larger group, although still susceptible to failure, are in most cases successful in bringing all the members safely to their goal. There may be safety in causing our larger moral issues to be resolved through informed deliberations by the best informed minds of the entire human family.

A diverse and prosperous world population in perpetual balance with global resources will be the cornerstone for a rational world order. People of good will in all nations must work to establish that balance.

We must have confidence in the informed judgment of humanity. The problems of population control can be solved before mass starvation or conflict destroys the earth. Human reason can meet the challenges thrust upon it in future ages. Let us and those who come after us apply that force in all areas of our lives.

A world language need not eliminate national languages. Every spoken language is useful, for it helps to segregate its unique segment of humanity from the general mass, permitting

it to develop its potentials in its own environment, influenced by its own traditions. Variety is intrinsically good and must be encouraged. Literature and all the arts flourish under the sheltering protection of a language which has developed in a common culture. But national languages may also be divisive, and can permit islands of misunderstanding to develop and grow into sources of major difficulty.

No language in general use today has been consciously designed by human effort. Attempts to create a designed language have been adaptations from existing patterns. They have not been based on fundamental analyses of our speech mechanisms and thought patterns. Widely spoken languages throughout the human species reflect our inner nature as it has evolved on the tree of life. They share many common features, but continue to change and to evolve as if they too are living creatures.

We suggest that scholars throughout the world begin now to establish new bases upon which later generations can develop a totally new universal language for men and machines. It will be adapted to our speech mechanisms and to the language faculties and patterns impressed in our nervous systems. Its spoken and printed forms will be capable of accurate interchange by electromechanical means.

Properly designed and stabilized, a common tongue for all nations may some day span chasms which would otherwise divide the human family. It will make possible the accurate transferral of thought down the long reaches of time. It need not be spoken by all. It will be most useful for those who bridge international barriers, and for scholars in the remote future who interpret the past. It will help maintain unity in diversity.

When the central cluster of the Georgia Guidestones was completed our small sponsoring group was disbanded, leaving the monument in the safekeeping of the people of Elbert County, Georgia. If the inscriptions are dimmed by wind and sun and time we ask you to cut them deeper. If the stones should fall, or be scattered by people of little understanding, we ask you to raise them up again.

We invite all who share our goals to extend the monument with other stones to carry its thoughts in languages not already represented. Added stones oriented with celestial phenomena

can continue the central theme of the Guidestones: the acceptance of universal, eternal principles in directing the course of human affairs.

The guides are not religious. They are not commandments. We have no authority to command. Affirmation of our thoughts can only occur as they are endorsed and supported by the reasoned judgment of this and future generations. We invite human beings of all persuasions to consider them with open minds, adapting them to the changing circumstances of unknown future centuries.

LET THESE BE GUIDESTONES TO AN AGE OF REASON

1. Maintain humanity under 500,000,000 in perpetual balance with nature.
2. Guide reproduction wisely, improving fitness and diversity.
3. Unite humanity with a living, new language.
4. Rule passion, faith, tradition, and all things with tempered reason.
5. Protect people and nations with fair laws and just courts.
6. Let all nations rule internally, resolving external disputes in a world court.
7. Avoid petty laws and useless officials.
8. Balance personal rights with social duties.
9. Prize truth, beauty, love . . .seeking harmony with the Infinite.
10. Be not a cancer on the earth . . . leave room for nature—leave room for nature.

III

Cultural Evolution

THE HUMAN SPECIES NOW NUMBERS nearly 5 billion individuals. Stripped of our acquired knowledge, we would be helpless, naked, ape-like creatures, totally ignorant and incapable of survival in all but the most favorable circumstances.

Each of us enters this world in a completely dependent condition. Fortunately, of all the warm blooded animals we have the longest childhood. This permits us an interval in which our minds become programmed with a share of the information inherited by our family and society from hundreds of past generations of our species. The knowledge of humanity has been painfully accumulated over many thousands of years. There have been infrequent additions and changes, and occasional losses. But the central enduring core of survival wisdom has been sufficient to enable our ancestral lines to endure to the present.

Our minds have an enormous capacity for receiving and storing information. Even with the increasing pace of new discoveries in the past 300 years, no human brain has ever become totally saturated with knowledge. The collective capacity of our racial intelligence is far beyond our present level of accomplishment.

We share many anatomical and chemical features with other creatures, not only in the structure of our bodies, but also in the basic design of our central nervous system. Our most significant anatomical feature is the expansion and elaboration of our brain. Here is centered our capacity for storing and manipu-

lating information. Here also are the neural circuits which mediate our ethical qualities, our consciousness, our ambitions, and our awareness of the high goals which are ours to achieve. These features, together with our biological adaptability and our prehensile hands, have raised our species to a new level in the evolution of life and have given us the capacity to establish dominion over the earth and all other living things.

The science of genetics has provided us with rudimentary understanding of the manner in which a human body and brain develop from a single living cell, the fertilized ovum. That tiny miracle combines contributions from two parents in approximately equal portions. Its central nucleus contains a genetic blueprint which spells out the general characteristics of our species, together with the minor variations which determine our racial and individual features.

The 46 chromosomes which identify the cell from which a complete human being will develop contain 3 billion pairs of cross-linked chemical bases. These bases are of only 4 kinds, yet they comprise an alphabet which spells out the patterns of life for each of the millions of species and all their individual variations which are to be found on earth today.

Provided with a suitable environment within our mother's womb, the fertilized ovum from which each of us springs becomes a fantastic chemical factory as it begins to divide and multiply, fabricating trillions of descendant cells, each of which contains a duplicate of the genetic documentation which identifies a specific individual. Each cell also contains modifiers which are precisely triggered to establish detailed changes in form and function as the embryo undergoes growth and development. The immensely complex and coordinated sequence of cell divisions results in the formation of a perfect machine, a human body, a living miracle. Each cell takes its proper place and begins its specific functions within the composite whole. Collectively the trillions of cells which compose each of us *are* orchestrated by intrinsic checks and balances to establish the ongoing symphony of chemical interactions which constitutes our human lives. Each life may continue for four score and ten years, gradually accumulating the flaws of wear and senility which lead relentlessly to somatic death, the ultimate fate of all living things. Only the germ cells endure to

carry on the phenomenon of life in a potentially endless chain of survival and further elaboration, extending onward in earthly time to limits beyond our ken.

We human beings and our genetic blueprint bear close resemblances to other living things. Structurally we are very much like the larger apes. Some of our proteins and cellular details are almost indistinguishable from those of other warm blooded animals. Certain enzyme systems within us can be traced across the spectrum of living things in patterns which suggest interrelationships and sequential modifications that have occurred over long periods of evolutionary time.

Viewed objectively, our physical structure is not impressively different from some other living forms. We are not the strongest, nor the fleetest, nor the largest of the animal kingdom we have come to dominate.

Our greatest distinguishing feature is invisible and intangible. It is our total *cultural* heritage, the composite of acquired *knowledge* which is maintained and transferred in our libraries and in the information stores of our arts and sciences, our trades, traditions, and all the complex living patterns of human society. The capacity for assimilating that heritage and enriching it is mysteriously contained in the trillion or more cells which constitute the living brain in each of us. Collectively these features determine our national and individual awareness, and our character.

Instinctive patterns of behavior that are prominent in other creatures are less dominant in our own species. Without acquired knowledge we cannot build a nest, or sing a song, or migrate with the seasons, as do the birds. We do experience the drive for survival which millions of years of evolutionary competition has instilled in us. We have strong intrinsic impulses which motivate our reproductive behavior, our acquisitiveness, and our social and antisocial tendencies. But in our daily lives these are restrained and guided by the exigencies of our communal existence.

Only at birth do inborn patterns completely dominate our behavior. As newborn infants we know without instruction how to nurse, to cry when in distress, and to recoil from a painful stimulus. Beyond that we are at the mercy of the elements unless protected and cared for by our family and friends.

Very soon after birth we begin a life-long process of acquiring the knowledge and life patterns of our human environment, assisted by many social agencies, the most important of which is our family unit. Here we are sheltered and nurtured while our minds are most receptive and plastic. Here are molded and crystalized the basic attitudes and fixed response patterns that will shape our character.

The process of knowledge transferral or mental programming is ruled more than we realize by the powers of habit. Patterns of living which have proved successful are passed down through the ages surprisingly unchanged. Transmittal of these patterns from one generation to the next is accomplished more or less unconsciously through a multitude of interhuman relationships and agencies, including language, custom, manners, tradition, literary legacies, legal systems, and many others. Religious philosophies and organizations have long been important in shaping the behavioral attitudes of human beings. They will continue that role in future ages as religious teachers adapt their doctrines to the ever changing human condition.

We are immersed in the myriads of social and cultural elements which surround us. They become a part of us as we take our place in the larger world of human affairs. They shape our attitudes in all that we see and feel and do. The particular cultural heritage into which we are thrust becomes almost as indelibly a part of our nature as our genetically determined physical features. Our cultural birthright is what makes one person an American, another a Russian, and still another a primitive tribesman in New Guinea.

Unquestioning acceptance of prevailing values can be a good thing. Guidelines that have preserved our lineage have proved themselves by surmounting past hazards; they should not be discarded casually.

As each newborn baby enters its particular niche in human society it begins to accumulate the patterns of understanding and behavior that prevail in its family and nation. With further growth and learning, each child takes its place in the human story, a never ending tapestry that began in the remote past, far beyond the dawn of history. Each life becomes a thread in the tapestry, interwoven with the life threads of others to outline a minute segment of a cosmic design which extends across the

endless reaches of time, revealing complex variations, innovations, and mysteries.

We seldom question the attitudes, beliefs, and values which we absorb by cultural osmosis during our lifetimes. Change makes us uncomfortable. We are slow to challenge the opinions of our elders. Our instinctive reluctance to change customary living patterns may have developed in our evolutionary past as a survival mechanism.

Toleration of established routines is neither good nor evil per se. Conformance with proven standards inherited from past generations has often sustained human societies through perils that otherwise might have proven fatal. Cultural inertias can be beneficial. A thousand people welded together by common principles can be more effective in the world than a thousand individuals going their separate ways. Yet a thousand individuals forced by tradition to follow the wrong path may be destroyed if they fail to heed warnings from nonconformists who perceive dangers unrecognized by the general mass of humanity. Changes in our collective behavior standards are sometimes necessary, although prudence requires that they be made with proper deliberation.

At any moment in history our cultural institutions display a wide variety. Each social group is unique. Different tribes and different nations have their own combinations of cultural features. Review of the worldwide store of knowledge and custom from one millennium to the next suggests what has been aptly termed "cultural evolution"—the progressive modification and adaptation of the "flora and fauna" of social elements similar in many ways to the ongoing modifications of genetics in living things. Human institutions and beliefs are selected for survival by overcoming challenges encountered in the changing circumstances of life as we move down the long river of time.

In the struggle for survival among competing human groups, cultural traits inherited from ancient forebears will often determine which group, or tribe, or nation will survive, and which will fall by the wayside.

Biologically, the ancient Romans differed little from their contemporaries. They built and maintained an enduring empire because on balance their laws, patriotism, ideals, military organizations, and traditions made them stronger and more

dynamic than their neighbors. They prevailed because of their *cultural* endowment. They extended their dominion over most of the civilized Western world. Some features of their society survive today in *our* laws and traditions. And their cultural heritage has endowed succeeding generations with a fitness for survival which persists unto this day.

The social institutions, religious philosophies, and other agencies that now exist have proved their fitness simply by surviving. That fitness continues to be tested as the human carriers are confronted with endless new challenges.

Unfit or outmoded cultural elements in earlier societies often have weakened or destroyed the very people who were their bearers.

Rapidly changing times test the social adaptability of our cultural heritage. Excessive rigidity or unwise flexibility can have equally disastrous consequences. We must accept change, but do so thoughtfully, with appropriate regard for the larger framework of life. We will be wise to maintain great respect for traditional values. Human nature has not changed in historical times. Traditional attitudes of society dealing with the family, sexual conduct, integrity in personal and business relationships, and with countless other ethical principles that have survived the tests of time should not casually be discarded simply because technology has modified human living conditions in the modern world. Increasing knowledge has not changed our fundamental biological nature.

In America today we are witnessing a number of social changes that are causes for concern. The first has to do with widespread instability of the family unit. The second relates to an increasing dependency of many citizens upon government agencies for their financial support through a philosophy of "entitlement," fostered by elected officials, which assumes that Americans with financial problems are automatically endowed with the right to preempt from tax paying fellow citizens funds to support them in idleness and comfort. The third cause for grave concern relates to the widely apparent dependence of many potentially productive citizens upon drugs and alcohol as a means for narcotizing or avoiding the stresses of life's realities in our industrialized society.

A stable and secure family unit is a characteristic of the most enduringly successful nations. In recognition of this fact most societies have established strong legal and social sanctions to promote family stability, protecting the role of parents, and particularly that of the mother. In most cases, marriage has been a binding legal and social contract, supported and interwoven with laws relating to parental responsibility, children's rights, and the ownership and inheritance of property.

In America no other contracts are entered into with so much ceremony and public display as a modern wedding, complete with rented finery, impressive religious services, and large receptions. Few other legal agreements take place before such assemblies of witnesses. No others involve such solemn public avowals of lifelong obligations to be terminated only by death.

Yet, despite the fanfare and promises, no other contractual arrangements are so flagrantly and quickly abandoned when one or both parties grow tired, or disillusioned, or merely bored with the obligations assumed under the marriage agreement. Today, nearly half of American marriages end in divorce, disrupting the lives of the partners and causing untold social and psychological consequences for the innocent children conceived in the emotional sunshine which has warmed the relationship in its early phases. Divorce shatters the home environment and disrupts the family relationship—a social arrangement that has proven most successful in nurturing children through their formative years, producing stable, well adjusted adults. How much future damage will stem from society's tolerance of the present wholesale abandonment of marital and parental obligations by so many of our citizens? What will be the social and civic character of children whose fathers have abandoned their families, very often with inadequate financial support, nearly always depriving their children of the psychological reinforcement of a strong father figure of integrity?

Marital stability is a legitimate concern of society as a whole. Our national character and strength are threatened when we permit without effective protest today's widespread abandonment of marital obligations. We can deal with the problem by devising a formal code of social behavior, and enforcing it with effective legal and economic supports. Children and adults must be made aware of the obligations as well as the benefits of

citizenship. Irresponsible parenting must not be tolerated or encouraged.

Mankind's need for moral guidance is now greater than ever before. The threat of nuclear war clearly calls for the application of ethical principles in international affairs. It is not too late. Let us hope that religious and philosophical leaders will soon join in guiding human behavior in a manner which will be acceptable to the people of all nations.

American self-reliance is another virtue that needs renewal. Nearly half of our citizens receive government support. Distant officials take the earnings from some citizens and give them to others through a variety of entitlements and through direct and indirect subsidies. Such programs invariably stem from good intentions, but seldom are of lasting benefit and too often have unexpected consequences in hampering productive efforts by the public at large. While collective action is no doubt required for specific social problems, it is likely that greater overall advantage would accrue from tax incentive programs that stimulate private initiative in the generation of economic activities and in the creation of full employment for all citizens capable of productive labor. A properly tuned incentive economy will provide greater benefits for all and will bring the added advantage of maintaining our personal liberties.

The present epidemic of drug and alcohol abuse raises many grave questions. We are confronted with a great array of social, economic, and military problems. Solving them will require the conscious efforts of us all, guided by our brightest and most innovative minds. When potential leaders become fogged with drugs, society loses the advantage of their initiative and abilities. We become deprived of our most powerful tools in the forging of future progress. More must be done to educate our people to the miserable effects of toxic substance abuse. We must reach young minds before they are lured into the fantasy world of chemical nirvana, from which many, once trapped, will never return. Let us provide better role models for impressionable young minds than we now permit in the form of entertainers and other influential public and private citizens who openly or covertly endorse the use of chemical escapes from unpleasant realities.

Society today is undergoing great turmoil and change. Many traditional cultural agencies are being rigorously tested and challenged as they encounter modern needs.

Conscious planning and intelligent control of the cultural evolution now in progress around us will hasten the establishment of an enduring Age of Reason.

IV

Guiding Human Reproduction

THE MOST IMPORTANT FUNCTION of every species is the procreation of its successors. This is especially true for humanity. We must perfect the ethical and legal constraints that regulate our conduct in this vital area so as to safeguard the long range interests of society. Careless or purely self-centered actions by some must not be permitted to injure others.

Industrialized nations are increasingly burdened by the social and monetary costs of raising children produced by irresponsible and inadequate parents. This is a grave injustice for those children and for the taxpayers who are burdened with the expense of providing them with food, clothing, education, and housing. No society can remain strong and productive if it tolerates wholesale irresponsible parenting.

No longer is reproduction exclusively a personal matter between two individuals. More than any other human action, it affects all of society, now and in future ages.

Society can provide practical incentives and disincentives to guide individuals in their child-bearing so as to protect the legitimate, long term welfare of the larger social group. This must be done, even though at times the wishes of individuals must be made subordinate to the needs of the state. Reasonable compromises can achieve a balance between the individual's rights and those of other citizens.

The plants and animals around us have survived because nature endowed their ancestral lines with superabundant powers of reproduction. For all but the few species we directly manage, this function is carried out reliably and automatically, like the changing of the seasons. Vital forces cause living things to reproduce in excessive numbers; but competition for food and living space, and hostile natural conditions weed out the weak and the defective, thus relieving excessive strains on the sustaining environment. Ultimately, there results for each species a dynamic balance with its surroundings and its competitors.

The earthly role of humanity has undergone great changes in the past few thousand years. Our mental powers have transformed us from small, scattered tribal groups of primitive hunters into a global society of five billion. We have mechanized farming and industry; we harness vast amounts of energy to operate a global industrial-agricultural complex which has changed the face of the earth. We have revolutionized our way of life. We must now accommodate our reproductive behavior to our altered status.

In our early history we developed complicated social codes and economic arrangements which adapted our childbearing function to the needs of society at the time. Large families meant that high death rates would not end the existence of tribal and national groups.

Patterns suited to past circumstances still exist without proper modification or rational control. We are neglecting a major responsibility; to improve our species by sensibly controlling and guiding our reproduction.

Because we have controlled disease and many other life-threatening dangers we need no longer depend upon high birth rates to assure the survival of our species. Excesses in childbearing often result in degradation and poverty. It will be extremely difficult, even in the short term, to provide five billion human beings with the material living standards typical of technically advanced societies today. A reduction in total numbers is essential to maximizing the potential of every human being. We cannot foretell the exact "climax" limit for human numbers. Providing even 500 million people with current American living standards may exceed that limit on a perpetual time scale.

Common sense would suggest that we make the reduction in a selective fashion. Yet we are devoting more attention to the production of improved plants and animals than to the selective continuation of our own species. World-wide, human conception is still governed principally by biologic and social forces, with little conscious guidance. We establish social environments in which many talented and productive individuals are constrained to limit their reproduction, while at the same time we provide subsidies that encourage childbearing by the indigent, the lazy, the irresponsible and the inadequate.

We fail to apply controls now available by which we could produce a succeeding generation of healthier and more productive human beings than those who live today. Our most valuable legacy would be a posterity that is the product of responsible parenting.

Superior human intelligence, compassion, and drive are complex qualities. Although they are not inherited in a simple Mendelian fashion, they are to a large degree genetically determined. And they are reproducible, just as are the complex qualities we seek to enhance in the lesser life forms under our control and direction. Our own intricate natures are based in chemistry, and that chemistry can be shaped to a considerable degree by human intelligence.

Desirable mental and physical qualities can be enhanced in future human populations by encouraging their reproduction and by discouraging the reproduction of their opposites. Talents which are considered to be marks of genius when they occur infrequently today can be made to occur more frequently in the world of tomorrow if we increase the contribution of gifted persons to the total gene pool through 10 or 20 generations.

Over 3,000 human disorders have now been identified as genetically determined. We can reduce their frequency in the human population of tomorrow if we discourage childbearing by known carriers.

Responsible parenting will consider both genetic and environmental factors. We must seek to produce healthy children, and then to mold their characters and to develop their potentials as socially worthwhile adults who will in turn carry the process indefinitely into the future. Few human beings ever

approach their maximum potentials in society. The cultivation of talent is a proper subject for study and conscious intervention.

Some human beings are temperamentally unsuited for parenthood. Yet they may have qualities which ought to be reproduced. Perhaps such individuals should transfer their natural children to the care of others capable of nurturing them into well adjusted adulthood.

We have a grave duty to use all available knowledge in perfecting the forces which guide our procreation. It is within our power to leave behind us a new generation of humanity slightly superior to our own in intellectual, social, and physical capabilities. In the remote future no child should be born with congenital handicaps which could have been avoided by rational actions of his ancestors.

Humanity has successfully applied practical genetic principles in developing domesticated plants and animals. It is now within our power to begin the domestication of our own species in a parallel fashion.

Our animal nature is only thinly disguised by a shell of civil behavior. Our tendencies to cruelty, selfishness, sloth, and lack of concern for others often overpower their opposite qualities.

Yet each of us possesses at least in latent form what Abraham Lincoln referred to as the better angels of our natures. We all share a degree of altruism, love, compassion, ambition, and a concern for our family, our nation, and our species.

Docility, loyalty, and other desired qualities have been selectively augmented by human intervention and control over the breeding patterns of "man's best friend," the dog. We could one day achieve comparable but much more important modifications in our own nature if we were to begin a conscious and sustained effort to direct our own genetics.

No baby should be born by accident. Every child must be wanted, needed, and loved. Every child should be nurtured in an environment favorable for developing latent talents and fulfillments.

In future ages, the evolution of living things will be increasingly guided by human intelligence. It is essential that we improve our own nature concurrently so that we can better

perform our shepherd's duty. Through our intervention love, compassion, and enlightened foresight can permeate the mechanistic world around us.

Nations which fail to guide childbearing and child rearing will not only suffer the effects of overpopulation, they will also be represented in the world of tomorrow by citizens of sub-optimal capabilities.

The enhancement of intelligence and ability by guided reproduction is not a simple matter. The inheritable aspects of superior mental powers are not well understood. It is probable that they are conditioned and modified not only by genetic factors, but by nutritional and toxic influences which may be active from conception until death. They are also strongly affected by other environmental and cultural influences, especially in the first few years of life.

Tom Paine observed over two hundred years ago that ". . . wisdom is like a seedless plant; it may be reared when it appears, but it cannot be voluntarily produced. There is always a sufficiency somewhere in the general mass of society for all purposes; but with respect to the parts of society, it is continually changing its place. It rises in one today, in another tomorrow, and has most probably visited in rotation every family of the earth, and again withdrawn." It does appear probable, however, that certain harmful abnormalities of an hereditary nature are directly controllable, and that behavioral patterns of an environmental nature tend to repeat themselves from one generation to another. Illiteracy and poverty are often examples of the latter.

Workers and leaders of tomorrow are in their cribs today. It is prudent that we apply to their nurture the validated knowledge available to us.

We are agents of the Infinite. Nations which succeed in applying reason and compassion in the conception and rearing of their children will have guiding roles in the coming Age of Reason.

V

Suffrage In The United States

IN OUR COUNTRY TODAY nearly all adult citizens may vote. Although in a strict sense we are a republic, with selected individuals chosen to enact and administer our laws, we are democratic in that we derive the powers of our government from the consent of the people.

Yet there are many different channels through which power may flow from citizens to government. The lines of transfer may of themselves greatly modify the nature of government and the relationship it bears to those who are ruled. Channels that respect individual liberties, wisdom, and long term objectives may have effects quite different from channels that are concerned only with immediate results and popular approval. The mechanics of government require constant review and occasional careful revision.

American history has already witnessed many changes in the structure of our government. We began our national existence as a part of the British Empire—a monarchial system with concessions to representative principles extending back to the Magna Carta. Political power in our original 13 Colonies was generally vested in a chartered company or in a group of proprietors appointed by the Crown. Each Colony developed a degree of representative government in the form of an

assembly in which the lower house was elected by qualified voters. But there were many restrictions on the right to vote, including some relating to religious beliefs. As a general rule, property ownership requirements and poll taxes limited the vote to a minority of adult males. Governors and other high ranking officials were appointed by the sponsoring company or by the proprietors. Approval of appointments by the King was also needed. Women, slaves, and many free male citizens had no vote. Political power granted to the elected legislative bodies was limited. Actions of the assemblies could be overridden by the governor or by a small group of officials who surrounded him. There were, however, elements of representative principles in our colonial governments which conditioned our forefathers to the concept of democratic rule.

When Americans recognized increasing abuse of their liberties by Great Britain, the seeds of revolution were sown. They grew resentful of harassment by Parliament and by petty royal officials. Political discontent increased and culminated in the war which won our independence. Our forefathers then established a new government in a pattern calculated to make it eternally subject to the will of the people.

But social inertias and attitudes tended to continue the established system of suffrage. Voting remained a restricted right. Requirements for property ownership prevented many citizens from access to the polls, even many former soldiers who had fought to win our political freedom.

For a time U.S. senators and state governors were chosen by the state legislatures. Our president was chosen indirectly through an electoral college rather than by popular vote. Some local officials were elected directly by qualified voters.

Most Americans accepted the view that voting was a special privilege and that it required some evidence of knowledge and judgement to participate in the selection of public leaders.

Requirements for literacy and for financial responsibility were thought to be reasonable, even by many who did not qualify. America was a land of opportunity, however, and men who could not vote were free to exert themselves to become qualified. The Bill of Rights in our Federal Constitution eliminated the more flagrant evils of the Colonial era. Our election system did work. It carried us through periods of turbulence, conflict, and territorial expansion.

In the nineteenth century, property and taxpaying requirements were gradually relaxed. The right to vote was progressively extended to include most of the adult white male population. In the twentieth century came further liberalizing of voting qualifications. In 1920, the 19th amendment brought suffrage to American women, and in the following 50 years the voting privilege was extended to include nearly all adult citizens, regardless of education, race, literacy, military service, or economic status. Each extension of the vote was instituted in the belief that it would make elected officials more responsive to the populace.

Nearly all legislative and executive officials are now elected directly by popular vote. Their subordinates are appointed, or simply hired, sometimes with the approval of a legislative body.

This universal suffrage is a mixed blessing. Our founding fathers believed it wise to restrict citizen control of government to individuals who had demonstrated superior abilities, as in the acquisition of property, or through dedication to public service.

Our republic has changed in ways undreamed of by those who first shaped it. They were a small nation of farmers living in a belt of land along the Atlantic coast. We have become an industrial giant, occupying a large share of the continent. We once had an abundance of nearly all natural resources. Today our expanding population and extravagant demands have consumed many of our non-renewable minerals and fuels and have made us increasingly dependent upon external sources. Our society has become complex. Government has multiplied and expanded until it has become directly or indirectly involved in all phases of our daily life. We have replaced the minions of George III with hordes of petty officials who entangle our lives and commerce in webs of regulations. They have burdened us with taxes far heavier than those which prompted us to throw off British rule. They have handicapped our economy with thousands of petty laws and bureaucratic rules which have become a cornucopia for more than half a million attorneys. Litigation now complicates and clogs the arteries of commerce and entangles most aspects of our private and professional lives.

Our government structures have developed lives of their own, growing beyond the effective control of the legislative bodies which spawned them. Monstrous bureaus in our national and state capitals have become almost independent of citizen influence, resisting all efforts to eliminate or control their activities. Employees of some government agencies are insulated from the people by barriers of regulations and layers of divided responsibility. They have feathered their nests with guaranteed pay raises, special financial benefits, and generous pension programs with automatic inflation-indexed increases. They have excluded themselves from the social security burdens which they have inflicted on ordinary citizens, and have assured themselves job security by a maze of Civil Service regulations which are impervious to outside challenge. Nearly one in six American workers today is employed by government. National and state agencies have become directly involved in housing, rent control, power production, agriculture, and all aspects of medical care.

Numerous direct and indirect subsidies, grants, and "entitlement" programs have made many citizens dependent upon civil servants—who dispense only tax revenue—for a significant part of their livelihoods.

Our personal lives and commercial enterprises are entangled in the webs of bureaucracy. Its pernicious effects seriously handicap us in competing for world markets.

Unrestrained government growth has begotten unrestrained government spending. Enormous public debt threatens our economic survival.

It is dismally evident that we do not always elect the best qualified public servants. Some are outstanding, but all too often their views are diluted by less well qualified colleagues. Wiser legislators and administrators could have avoided many of our present problems. Prudent changes in our electoral system can result in public officials who are better suited to our needs.

"Universal" suffrage may not be a wise principle upon which to base representative government. In truth, we do not have universal suffrage even now. Children, and individuals who are obviously insane, do not exercise the right to vote. And many who do meet the legal requirements for voting fail to

exercise that privilege, either through indifference or ignorance.

We should consider making the right to vote conditional. We might, for example, impose certain educational requirements. In a society which provides tax-paid educational opportunities for everyone, we should require proof of understanding of our government and its history and problems as a prerequisite for voting.

It would undoubtedly improve the quality of government if voters were required to pass a simple test covering the structure of our government, our history, and our general economic system. Our citizens must now pass a comparable examination to qualify for driving on our streets and highways.

The level of difficulty of the voter-qualifying examination should be high enough to exclude political illiterates, but not so high as to eliminate individuals of average understanding and education. If at the same time we provide all citizens with access to schooling that will enable any mentally competent person to qualify, our democracy will be strengthened.

Mark Twain once suggested that our voting system should be modified to permit additional votes for selected citizens, based upon objective qualifications. These might include age, military service, and other indicators of civic responsibility.

It would be reasonable to require evidence of economic productivity as a qualification for voting. Citizens who long remain on public relief rolls, performing no services to compensate for their financial support by the taxpayers, should not vote. Any resulting injustice would be outweighed by the long term gains. The purse strings of charity should be controlled primarily by the giver, not by the recipient. In this land of free education and economic opportunity, it is shameful that some families remain on relief rolls generation after generation. Wise legislators elected by responsible voters would find ways to interrupt this endless chain. Productive labor of some kind must be made a basic requirement for full citizenship. Elimination of minimum wage laws, combined with income *supplements* from tax funds, and mandatory work requirements for able-bodied welfare recipients would be logical starting points for correcting the shortcomings of our present welfare arrangements.

All citizens should be reminded at election time that "government" means tax-paying citizens, taken collectively. Our elec-

tions have become popularity contests in which candidates out-promise one another as they seek support from various factions in the electorate. Politicians often conceal the fact that government can only give "benefits" to one group by taking money from others. Candidates skilfully promise to render many kinds of assistance from the public treasury; they avoid the painful subject of higher taxes for funding their promises.

Another improvement in our electoral process would be to require higher standards for the candidates themselves. Present qualifications list little more than citizenship, residence in the area served, and a minimum age.

Candidates for public office should be required to demonstrate a basic understanding of world and national history, and some grasp of economic principles. In this country members of the learned professions must demonstrate competence in their chosen fields before they can serve the public. Not only must they pass rigorous licensing examinations, but they must devote prescribed hours each year to continuing education to qualify for re-licensing.

Legislators enact laws which have profound impacts on every phase of our economy and our personal activities. They and those who administer their laws have much greater power over our lives than do any of the licensed professions. Yet they have kept themselves excluded from legal provisions that would require them to demonstrate measurable qualifications for the jobs they seek on election day. Candidates should be required to pass an examination for the award of a "Certificate of Qualification for Public Office."

The examination should be appropriate for the type of office being sought. Thus there might be corresponding certificates for sheriff, for county auditor, and for other local offices requiring specific skills. Other certificates might qualify individuals to seek legislative or administrative offices on the local or state level. Examinations of a higher level of difficulty and covering a broader range of economic, political, and historical subjects might be required for all who seek national office. It might be helpful to indicate for the voters' information the record of the candidates in their qualifying examination.

The needs of our people will be better served by officials who meet certain basic qualifications than by others who may or may not be intellectually qualified, but who rely primarily upon the arts of demagoguery and salesmanship to gain public office. It would be prudent to restrain promotional efforts and to limit campaign spending in some rational manner, making it more difficult for special interests to buy and pay for the election of any public official. Reasonable standards for voting and for holding public office need not impair participation in our democratic process by any segment of our population. Such standards will make public office more appealing to those best qualified to serve, and will help to assure that every social and economic division in our society is represented by those best able to speak and act for its members.

Higher standards for voters and for candidates will result in better government.

Wiser and better informed legislative bodies will establish a proper order of priorities among the many problems facing society today. Truly pressing problems, such as the need for controlling our borders, regulating human population, and limiting government spending in a sensible manner, will be considered with appropriate urgency. And better qualified administrators will hopefully avoid many of the abuses which have developed in our governmental machinery since 1776.

VI

Prospects for the American Economy

THE FIRST FOUR CENTURIES of American history have unfolded a remarkable record. In 1600, the territory which is now the 48 contiguous states was a wilderness. It contained an abundance of undeveloped resources and was sparsely populated by Indian tribes whose members depended to a great extent upon hunting for their subsistence. Their limited agriculture caused no permanent damage to the environment.

About 1600, a trickle of European colonists began to arrive on our eastern shore. In the next 200 years immigration increased steadily as millions crossed the Atlantic to this land of opportunity. The trickle became the greatest mass migration in human history.

During the eighteenth century the Industrial Revolution was taking shape in Europe, with new technologies in metal working, mining, and the harnessing of coal with the steam engine. The age of machines advanced most rapidly in England, which was well supplied with coal and iron. The new knowledge was soon exported to England's former colonies in North America. Steam power supplemented water power along many eastern streams. Steam engines were also adapted to boats and then to railroads. Improved roads, an extensive network of canals, and a proliferating web of rail lines soon covered our growing nation. Coal and wood provided cheap fuel, making possible

the rapid development of diversified industries, especially in the northeastern states. The steel plow, the cotton gin, and the reaper were invented, and revolutionized American agriculture. Production, bolstered by western expansion, increased exponentially. Resources were being discovered that seemed unlimited.

As the population grew, the frontiers pushed across the continent. The prairies of the Midwest were converted to farmland. Swamps were drained, roads and railroads proliferated, and towns and cities sprang up like mushrooms.

Major deposits of high grade iron ore were found in northern Minnesota and transported on the Great Lakes to eastern steel mills near abundant coal supplies. We entered the Iron Age with enthusiasm and energy. Americans devised machines for every imaginable purpose and produced them in vast quantities.

In 1859, oil was discovered in Pennsylvania. Initially, it was used only for lamps, but when the internal combustion engine was developed late in the century, oil became a compact and portable fuel for transporting goods and people, accelerating industrialization throughout the Western world.

America possessed all the ingredients needed for an explosion of production. Mills and factories appeared across the land. Machines multiplied human productivity. Low-priced products became everywhere available. Entrepreneurs were restricted neither by antitrust laws nor by concerns for the environment. Pittsburgh became a city darkened by perpetual smoke, but low cost steel poured from her furnaces. The income tax had not been invented. Our expanding industrial and agricultural complex provided wages sufficient for Americans to become a market for the products of their own labor.

"Profit" was not a nasty word. Enterprising businessmen were given a free hand to exploit the cornucopia of natural resources that surrounded us on every side. Virgin forests were converted to lumber and fuel with little concern for waste and no thought of replanting. Large fortunes were made. "Robber Barons" flourished. However, much of their immense profits became additional venture capital, to be reinvested again and again in expanding a growing production base.

Soon, Americans were not only supplying their own needs, but they were exporting a surplus to nations not yet industrial-

ized. America became the world leader in nearly all fields of technology. We produced notable scientists and inventors, and attracted many others from abroad. European economies shared in the general prosperity, but lagged behind us, in part because of their less plentiful natural resources. Meanwhile, much of the world remained at a rather primitive economic level.

By 1900, our fortunate combination of resources, capital, labor, management, machines, an enterprising spirit, and a large free market had made us the most powerful and most prosperous nation in the history of mankind.

Progress was not without interruption or turmoil. There were wars, panics, and labor disputes. In the 1930s, the Great Depression disrupted our economy until the stimulus of a major war brought about another surge of economic expansion. After World War II we experienced a leveling off process, and the pace of production began to slow. Our population had increased to 200 million and was continuing to grow by natural increase and through immigration. It was difficult to maintain both full employment and high wages for all our citizens.

Meanwhile, the technical and financial ideas and expertise that underlie modern industrial societies showed no respect for national boundaries, but were shared, utilized, and steadily augmented by other nations who successfully followed pathways blazed by the industrial pioneers in America and Europe.

The industrialization of America was associated with great social change. In our early history, 19 of every 20 Americans were farmers. Their simple needs were met with locally available resources. After the Civil War, emancipated slaves began the difficult process of assimilation into a competitive society. Some joined the millions of white citizens moving to the cities and factories, attracted by the bright lights and the promise of better paying jobs. Others remained for a time as poor sharecroppers on southern farms. Urbanization of our society continues even today. Now fewer than three per cent. of our workers are engaged in agriculture. Yet with the help of powerful machines they provide food for all of us in greater abundance than can be comfortably absorbed by the marketplace. The toll of intensive modern farming methods on our topsoils is serious, and we are only now becoming aware of the contami-

nation and depletion of the underground water table which our shortsighted efforts are causing for our descendants.

In the 20th century we are witnessing other fundamental changes as the common pool of knowledge is disseminated throughout the world. Human populations continue to grow rapidly, due in large part to advances in medicine and sanitation. Formerly backward nations have developed educational systems that in some cases are superior to our own. They have adopted and are improving the technology of the Western world, often to a level beyond what has been achieved here and in Europe.

Other nations—not least, Japan, Taiwan and Korea in the Far East—have learned from the Western nations and in some areas of technology, are surpassing them. They have dramatically increased their consumption of raw materials as they have educated their people, and have provided them with factories and distribution facilities that incorporate the most recent technical advances.

Their workers enter the job market with skills equal to or better than those of Americans, but with wages far below customary American levels. Their managers are competent and aggressive. They streamline and perfect the productive process, demonstrating great talent in securing resources in the world market. They are producing sophisticated manufactured products and marketing them with great success throughout the world. They are actively assisted at all times by their governments, who demonstrate an informed and cooperative attitude in promoting their efforts at home and abroad.

Japan, Korea, and Taiwan are causing revolutionary changes in the roles of the older industrialized nations. Unfortunately, the rulers and work forces of some Western nations are unwilling to accept and appropriately adapt to those changes.

Americans have grown accustomed to the comfortable living standards based upon our once abundant resources. We are inclined to take them for granted. As our reserves dwindle we make futile attempts to restore our primacy in per capita income through legislation, ignoring the fact that laws do not produce nuts and bolts and other consumer goods. We are losing some of the competitive spirit of our earlier successes. A growing segment of our population is becoming dependent upon govern-

ment at a time when government is approaching insolvency.

Over the past 50 years we have legislated a system of direct and indirect payments and subsidies to support citizens who are not gainfully employed. Costs of such programs are borne by the segments of our society still engaged in productive work. We have established minimum wage standards which do not recognize honest market values for the labor of marginal workers. We thus unintentionally mandate idleness for many citizens, who then become tax burdens for their neighbors. Government assistance programs are by no means restricted to the poor. There are subsidies for farmers, for small businesses, for large corporations, and for cities and states. We have payments for the elderly, for veterans, for the physically handicapped, and for the socially blighted. We use tax funds to provide medical care, legal assistance, rent subsidies, educational grants, and home insulation. Federal "benefits" require volumes to simply list and describe them. We have other federal regulations and court opinions that require our state and local governments to provide specific assistance for the "economically disadvantaged," for "minority groups," and even for prisoners. In many instances, courts have broadened the coverage of federal and state laws far beyond the intent of the legislators who enacted them.

If a factory worker with a family should break one of our many laws, he personally must pay for the services of a lawyer to defend himself. A chronically unemployed habitual criminal who has similar problems will have the services of a court appointed attorney. That attorney, paid by the taxpayers, may carry appeals all the way to the Supreme Court if there is a slight chance of overturning a conviction on some technicality. A private citizen paying his own way might not pursue the matter with such determination.

In some cases the monetary value of tax-supported benefits for an unemployed person exceeds the income of other citizens who are working full-time at modest pay. These self-respecting citizens must contribute a part of their small earnings to support the idle, sometimes with amenities that are unavailable to their own families.

The cost of welfare programs is a growing addition to the other handicaps which must be faced by our manufacturers as

they seek to underprice foreign competitors, whose societies require that all citizens work.

American businessmen are further hampered by the complexity of our laws—federal, state and local. Legal considerations have become concerns of the first order in determining business decisions. Laws dealing with environmental impact, zoning, labor, and "minorities," although well intentioned, are a direct cause for increased costs. Several thick volumes are now required to "clarify" the federal income tax code. Skilled accountants are essential for businesses and many private citizens in computing their taxes.

Outside the arena of direct legislation, regulations are promulgated by many government agencies with authority delegated to them by enabling acts. These may change from day to day. Failure to comply with them can cause serious financial losses, so American businesses find it necessary to employ costly legal staffs simply to conduct day-to-day operations. Corporations in other nations have their share of government meddling, but seldom with the degree of complexity which has become the lot of managers in America. In some cases effective control of critical business decisions is given indirectly to government officials who might have little practical experience, and who might be more concerned with the political impact of their performance than with long range economic effects.

Some officials show little concern for our negative balance in foreign trade. They minimize the significance of our debtor status in the international world, and take comfort in the naive belief that America can prosper as a "service" economy, with our people simply waiting on one another. They do not tell us how we will pay for the expensive consumer products that are the core of high material living standards, and which in their scenario will be manufactured abroad. If we consume at high levels, we must produce at high levels, not only for our own use, but for world markets. It will be difficult to purchase Japanese electronics, Brazilian steel, and Arab oil with personal services.

Sooner or later, a day of reckoning will come. Our continuing federal deficits, combined with interest payments on the accumulation of past deficits, and our ongoing foreign trade im-

balance combine to exceed the total annual savings of the American economy. There is no surplus to replace worn-out production equipment or to build new factories.

There is no immediate shortage of most raw materials in world markets. Some commodities are available at lower prices than in the past, thanks to the modern production methods now being used to exploit reserves in some foreign lands. But this is a part of our problem: We Americans already have consumed our most accessible oil, iron, and other resources. We must now use foreign exchange funds to purchase some of those essentials abroad, bidding against other users.

America is no longer the leader in most fields of technology. The Japanese and others have pushed ahead in electronics, automobile production, cameras, petroleum refining, metallurgy, machine tools, computers, office machines, robots, and other products required by modern industry. We now buy a large share of our shoes, clothing, and textiles from abroad simply because they cost less. Hundreds of thousands of American jobs are lost as a result.

Many other nations now practice the self-discipline necessary to excel in science, technology, manufacturing, finance, and international trade. Markets formerly dominated by the United States and Western Europe have been taken over by newcomers. Brazil has become a major producer of low cost steel, Japanese steel undersells Pittsburgh steel in that city, notwithstanding shipping costs from Japan.

The day of the unskilled day laborer is rapidly becoming a memory. Most simple and many complicated tasks will be performed by robots, which do not get sick, take vacations, or get overtime and fringe benefits. Our schools continue to operate only 180 days a year, a schedule dating to pioneer days when children also worked on the farm. This schedule is inadequate for teaching the skills required in an increasingly sophisticated world.

We are inclined to gear academic standards to mediocrity, while more enlightened foreign societies stress excellence, competition, and performance. We give too much attention to competitive sports at all grade levels, diverting funds and emphasis from scholastics, which are more important to our country in the longer view.

Every year we graduate a plethora of attorneys, occupying the talents of good students who, in other societies, might become engineers, scientists, and managers capable of advancing the interests of our society in this competitive world.

Nearly half of American high school graduates go on to college. Many have no specific goals and no strong motivation to acquire a liberal education or to excel in a particular field of study. Some of these students would be better employed in technical schools, acquiring skills our nation must have to prosper in future years.

In many countries, a college degree is difficult to achieve. There is intense competition for college admission; poor students are rejected, and good students are pushed to maximum achievement. Many disappointments and frustrations are associated with this educational competition. Yet we live in a cold world which rewards excellence and punishes failure. It is folly to proceed on any other premise as we plan our national goals and devise programs for achieving them.

An unavoidable burden of America in the closing years of this century is our role as the primary defender of the non-communist world. We have not sought out this responsibility. It has devolved on us because we are the most powerful of the Western nations. It occupies a large share of our manpower and consumes our resources as we maintain military forces and sophisticated weaponry to prevent the expansionist forces of world communism from overwhelming the entire world.

We spend nearly seven per cent. of gross national product for defense, much more than Japan, Taiwan, Western Europe, and Latin America. This additional burden has aggravated our inability to compete in world markets against our adversaries and against the very nations who gather under our military umbrella for protection.

Our problems are complex and interrelated and are interwoven with the traditions and expectations of American labor. As more and more foreign workers acquire the skills and facilities which were formerly restricted to only a few industrialized nations, there will be increasingly strong downward pressures on real wage levels. If America cannot compete through further mechanization of production, a process which demands great capital investment, wages will move lower and more jobs

will be lost to foreign workers. Capital is mobile. Billions of dollars can be electronically transferred in a twinkling from our economy to foreign nations where profits are greater.

Meanwhile, we hamper our productive efforts with labor regulations which once may have been necessary but which now are counterproductive. We tolerate strikes which might be avoided by compulsory or voluntary arbitration. We fail to inform our work force of the impact which well capitalized, low wage foreign workers have had on our role in a dynamic and ever-changing world.

American auto workers receive higher wages than their Japanese counterparts. At the same time, the Japanese have nearly twice as much invested capital behind each job, in the form of robots, modern machinery, and advanced engineering. Japan makes a car in a fraction of the man-hours required in America, and sells it in America at a profit for a lower price.

But the Japanese have competition, too. Korean workers build cars for lower wages, and threaten Japan's advantage. The Koreans, in turn, face Mexicans who are eager to work in plants built just across our border, accepting subsistence pay rates in their depressed economy. Competition, change, and shifting flows of trade are facts of life which we must face with logic and realism if we are to continue to prosper as a free nation.

In summary, America is handicapped by high labor costs, shrinking domestic raw material reserves, an insufficiently educated work force, excessive litigation, burdensome debts and demands on government, short-sighted legislators, and an electorate which has yet to manifest sufficient awareness of the magnitude and complexity of our problems.

Yet all these problems have potential solutions. Dealing with them will demand changes in our attitudes, expectations, and work habits.

One root of our present dilemma is government—too much government. Not only have we permitted it to grow without restraint—we have encouraged it to develop irresponsible spending habits, habits which would never be permitted in a sensible family budget. The mountainous federal debt overhangs our economy.

There are parallels between our federal finances and those of Germany in 1922. Her national debt at that time was primarily reparations claimed by the victorious allies after World War I; One trillion marks, payable in gold.

Our national debt is in the form of government bonds, held to a large extent by financial institutions and insurance companies, and in vast commitments for future obligations of many kinds. We owe large sums to foreign investors, and are adding to the debt through deficit spending and an international trade deficit. The ratio of our debts to assets is roughly comparable to that of Germany over 60 years ago. And, we have not been treating our debtors honestly. We have continuously defaulted on our bonded indebtedness through the ruse of monetary inflation—repaying borrowed dollars with cheaper inflation dollars. In the meantime, bond owners pay taxes on the interest. Americans who buy bonds are short-changed on their investment.

As the dollar erodes in value, so do savings accounts, life insurance policies, pension reserves, and all other dollar denominated funds.

So far, we have avoided a collapse of the dollar. But today our federal debt is increasing so rapidly that we are vulnerable to the explosive inflation that is ravaging Brazil, Israel, and other spendthrift nations.

In 1923, Germany reacted to its impossible debt by printing more and more paper money of less and less value until it finally became worthless. Within a year, all "old" debts, public and private, became meaningless. The monetary system collapsed, wiping out the accumulated savings, pensions, and insurance values of the citizens. A total financial reorganization became necessary. A new mark was issued, with one new mark equivalent to one trillion old marks. This did not solve Germany's many problems, but it did restrain spending by politicians in the next few years.

America may have passed the point of no return in its present monetary course. We now have two apparent alternatives. We may continue the present pattern of rising deficits, a steadily eroding dollar, and an increasing inability to compete in world markets. Or we can follow the example of Germany in 1923 and

abruptly flood the world with paper dollars, thus defaulting on our present debt burden in a shorter period of massive adjustment.

Even this drastic action will have no lasting significance if not accompanied by a change in attitude of the American people toward government and its role.

Permanent stabilization will require a sound new fiscal policy. If we can muster the wisdom and resolve to minimize intervention by civil servants in economic affairs, there will be hope for preserving our personal liberties. Prudent policies relating to income and inheritance taxes can encourage widespread capital formation, identify capital ownership, and prevent an unhealthy concentration of economic power in a few private hands. Under capitalism wealth equates with political power. That power must be controlled. Ownership of capital must be public knowledge. Excessive hereditary concentration of wealth is incompatible with democracy.

Constitutional limitations on government spending—mandatory balanced budgets at every level of government—are the only reliable means for controlling public servants in their tendencies to tax and tax, and spend and spend. All appropriations must be financed from current revenues. Taxpayer resistance will provide the needed restraint and will compel legislators to make compromises between competing needs.

Reducing the size of government by stripping it of the unwise activities it has assumed in the past century will be a gargantuan and complex task. Our republic is a democracy of factions, each reflecting special social, economic, and political interests. Prevailing circumstances have caused politicians to respond to pressures from these factions with insufficient regard for total costs and long-term effects. Mandated spending limits will permit elected representatives to respond to the needs of each group, but with appropriate restraint and compromise. Many state governments are operating in this manner quite successfully.

Compulsory balancing of the federal budget will require give and take and political compromise. Many government activities will have to be discontinued and their armies of employees forced to seek work in the private sector. Elected legislators and heads of government must reassert a controlling role for the

common people, ending the petty tyrannies and entrenched hegemonies of marginally useful government workers.

Wise planning must give appropriate consideration to our military and strategic situation. Until the world is absolutely assured of universal peace enforced by joint actions of the major powers, it will be necessary for the United States to compromise the ideal of universal free trade. So long as foreign powers threaten our internal security and our access to essential external raw materials we must retain a strung defense industry, even though this increases the costs and reduces the availability of consumer goods. Painful choices will be forced on politicians restrained by constitutional spending limits.

America must remain strong—strong enough to safeguard our liberties, but not so strong as to threaten the existence of other nations who seek a peaceful world.

We still are a wealthy nation. We have sufficient resources to feed, clothe, and house our people. Thanks to the multiplication of human labor by machines, we can continue to achieve a comfortable standard of living for each family unit, but it will require all of us to work, even those who have partial disabilities. We no longer can afford to support able-bodied citizens on the public dole, perpetuating poverty from one generation to the next.

Our social security system has become severely strained by the many obligations which have been thrust upon it without adequate funding. It requires drastic remodelling. Benefits must reflect the premiums which have been paid, just as with privately funded insurance and retirement programs. Welfare functions must be separated from Social Security and be funded by direct appropriations.

Some citizens will work beyond customary retirement age when the needs of society require their assistance.

"Mature" or long established social insurance programs in many industrialized nations require roughly one quarter of the paychecks of the working population to adequately fund reasonable benefits. Faced with the need for this kind of expenditure, many citizens might choose private insurance for their retirement programs. Few government officials have demonstrated sufficient financial skill and acumen to warrant

giving them the responsibility for managing this large fraction of the national income. Because of this, it would be wise to grant citizens the option of selecting approved private carriers.

During the next few decades there will be a leveling of living standards throughout the world. Whether it is a leveling up or a leveling down will depend upon the wisdom with which humanity acts. Nations that prudently oversee capital formation and use will be in the forefront of economic progress. Nations whose citizens are industrious, educated, adaptable, and productive will prosper, even though they may not be abundantly supplied with domestic natural resources. *People* will continue to be the most important resource of all in the competition for material, intellectual and spiritual progress.

We in America are blessed with a large share of the world's riches. We are a diverse and talented people. We have at our disposal effective means for transforming our collective will into sensible structuring of our government and our society. We must strive to excel in wisdom and compassion, and build a better world for our children and the children of all the world.

We can be the masters of our destiny.

VII

Proposals for Improving Our Society

THERE ARE MANY AREAS in American society which deserve planned improvement. Simple proposals for solving complex problems are often inadequate, but they may suggest new approaches which deserve consideration. I offer here the thoughts of one citizen relating to some of our more pressing problems.

1. EDUCATION

A nation's people are its most valuable resource. Like other resources, it is worthless unless it is developed and put to work. In the modern world, a nation of illiterate and undereducated human beings is unable to compete. Nations that are most successful in rearing children to become knowledgeable, responsible, and dedicated adults are destined to prevail in the world competition for goods, markets, and intellectual achievement. Even though we spend vast amounts on education, our country is falling behind in this vital race. Nearly 20 percent of American workers are functionally illiterate—unable to comprehend simple written instructions. Many who have received high school diplomas are almost devoid of understanding in the

fields of science, history, and mathematics. Yet these are workers who will staff our economy as we attempt to meet increasing foreign competition.

Our schools are not doing an adequate job. Neither are our parents. Academic standards are geared to mediocrity, not to excellence. Great emphasis is placed on sports, music, and other pleasant, extra-curricular activities. Our schools consume a major share of local tax revenues, yet they operate for only 180 days a year. Schools in Japan operate 240 days a year, with eight-hour days, five-and-one-half-day weeks, and extra work and tutoring after school hours for promising students. Japanese students out-perform Americans in most subjects in all age groups. In our schools, competition is stressed on the athletic field, but neglected in the classroom. We give little emphasis to the teaching of basic etiquette, especially in those schools where students are most in need of it. We often permit slovenly habits in work, dress, speech, and decorum. Teachers are sometimes abused by students, and fail to achieve the necessary authority from parents and taxpayers to assert appropriate discipline and attitudes in the classroom. Disruptive student behavior by some hinders the educational process for others. Teachers are not well paid, often receiving less compensation than the janitors who sweep their hallways. Administrative staffs are top heavy with marginally useful assistants, coaches, coordinators, and counselors. Many of these employees hold jobs which have been mandated by legislators through well meaning but inappropriate measures designed to aid the handicapped, to promote racial equality, or to administer redundant rules and regulations imposed from outside the local school system. Paying their salaries hinders efforts to increase compensation for those who are the backbone of good schools: the teachers.

Major advances in human understanding are made by bright young minds that have been well educated and properly directed. The outer borders of knowledge are so far advanced that many years of intensive study are required for a student to reach the frontiers, retracing the steps of those who have gone before. Isaac Newton, Darwin, Einstein, and many others made their major discoveries as young adults, and used their advancing years to elaborate and apply the insights achieved in

their youth. The early years of schooling are critically important.

It would be prudent to develop a two-track system in American schools—letting the most capable young students enter a curriculum that is more intense, far ranging, and demanding than that for average young minds. Separation of the two tracks could be at the second or third grade level, with provision for crossovers in either direction at later stages, as indicated by individual student progress and desires.

All students should be challenged with a curriculum designed to prepare them to enter the competitive world. Excellence should be stressed for *all* occupational levels—from bootblack to corporate officer. Pride in performance should be instilled in all Americans. The course of study should be flexible, permitting some students to proceed with college preparation while others are directed into specific occupational fields.

The array of courses offered should be based upon realistic appraisals of the job market, as reflected in the recommendations of potential employers and a survey of "help wanted" columns in major newspapers. Depending upon their aptitudes and desires, students may be encouraged to become chefs, clerks, domestics, mechanics, or hundreds of other performers in our society. Maximum effort and performance must be stressed at all times. Chefs must think of themselves as *good* chefs, mechanics as *good* mechanics, and executives as *good* executives. Certificates granted after completion of specific courses must honestly reflect student performance so that employers can rely on the significance of the certificate.

Foreign language study has long been neglected in our schools. It was not essential to our prosperity in the past, but times have changed. Many Americans must become fluent in the languages of our trading partners so that our interests are properly served. We must develop language studies in our schools, beginning in the early grades and continuing through the university level. We are fortunate in possessing many immigrants who are fluent in the languages of their homelands who can assist in teaching our children.

Many students come from socially inadequate homes, frequently with only one parent. Very often that parent is educationally deprived, unable to teach the child courteous behavior.

good grooming, proper grammar, and the other social graces that are so helpful in occupational and social advancement. Important early training is neglected. Our schools must serve "in loco parentis," making up deficiencies that otherwise will handicap ill-favored children for life.

Our schools *must* establish certain standards. There is a legitimate place for "dress codes," despite objections from rebellious students who in their immaturity believe that such rules are an abridgement of personal freedom. Cleanliness and general appearance *are* important in the real world, and this fact must be taught to all our children.

We are sending too many of our young people to institutions of higher learning. Many are impelled by social pressures rather than by a genuine desire for intellectual advancement.

Our homes and schools are our most valuable productive machinery, for it is within them that we prepare our future citizens for their productive lives. Yet it is here that we fail our children.

Some of our failings result from social handicaps present in American society, and not found in nations such as Japan. These include widespread divorce, illiteracy, sexual permissiveness with its associated unmarried and teenage parenting, and extensive social diversity and fragmentation, without generally accepted standards demanding that all citizens must work.

Much can be said for those Japanese traditions which keep mothers of young children in the home, especially during the early, formative years in which basic attitudes and characters are formed. Achieving this goal in modern America will require a return to older patterns which protected the economic interests of mothers who thus sacrifice their own selfish interests to serve family and social needs. These women cannot be tossed aside by divorce or abandonment. Fathers must be required to fulfill their obligation to the family unit. Wandering fathers must be forced to support their children.

We are in need of a fundamental reevaluation of our goals and a sweeping reorganization of our entire educational system. The planning group should include not only teachers and school administrators, but representatives of business and the professions. Educational methods employed in other na-

tions should be studied to discover approaches which might be of use to us. Promising methods from their societies should be adapted to our own.

The presence of numerous poorly motivated individuals in our universities hampers educational effectiveness. Higher education should be made more competitive, restoring genuine prestige to the possession of a college degree. There should be conscious planning in the allocation of student talent to specific fields, such as law, medicine, engineering, business administration, and others. Class size should be regulated in an enlightened manner. Smaller student bodies, higher faculty salaries, and longer learning sessions can produce better educated graduates.

We waste millions of man hours and vast stores of human talent when we train lawyers and doctors to enter overcrowded fields. We should consciously encourage students to enter occupations in which their abilities will help us face increasing technical and economic competition in the world. Limiting admissions to schools that train students for overcrowded fields will control the problem. Society does not have an obligation to provide an education in a specific profession for every student who wishes to enter it. If requirements are based upon honest competition, there will be little injustice. Reliable information concerning opportunities in other fields will assist students in applying their talents where they can be most useful and properly compensated.

Our failings within American homes are not easily corrected. We have problems which are not often encountered in nations such as Japan, where long established traditions stabilize human behavior more effectively than in the United States.

Wholesale reorganization of our educational system is essential. But that will not solve all our training problems. It must be accompanied by legislation which will effectively encourage socially acceptable behavior, including responsible parenting, by all our citizens.

Our present social chaos can be significantly corrected through rational actions by our elected officials if supported by an informed electorate.

2. MORALITY

Morality and immorality are forbidden subjects in our public schools, in large part because of efforts by misguided "liberals" to prevent the teaching of any identifiably religious doctrines. Yet we permit *anti*religious philosophies to be presented in a variety of courses, and leave blank those pages which could tell the admittedly imperfect story of religions as they have attempted to conquer our animal nature in the course of history.

Our present situation is paradoxical. Since the birth of our nation, we have accorded to religion a recognized, if nonsectarian, role in the workings of our government. We acknowledge shortcomings in our religious beliefs and understanding. We observe great diversity in the creeds and ceremonies of our citizens. Yet we manage to open each session of Congress with an appeal to the Almighty for guidance. We include the phrase "under God" in our pledge of allegiance. We recognize the deity on many of our coins. We have provided chaplains of every denomination as spiritual guides for our military personnel.

Yet we strain the doctrine of separation of Church and State to such an extreme in our public schools that we prevent any mention of God in the classroom.

Morality, ethics, and religion are closely intertwined. Early Greek philosophers delighted in pondering questions relating to "causality," "ultimate ends," and "eternal values." The Stoics who lived 500 years before Christ believed that our impulse to do good stemmed from a spark of Divinity that burned within each human mind. Studies of these basic questions in the past 2,500 years continue to occupy the attention of philosophers of every description, their expositions endlessly criss-crossing the intellectual territory of the world's religions. Final answers and absolute truths are forever beyond the reach of mortals. But we do need guidance, and can seek partial answers which we hope will be sufficient for our needs.

Because of traditions that have associated moral standards with specific religious beliefs, it has been difficult to establish practical behavioral standards within our schools.

As a general rule, children and most adults are more effectively guided by simple, understandable rules regarding right

and wrong than by complex philosophical discussions. We observe the social ills resulting from dishonesty, sexual promiscuity, divorce, drug abuse, and other socially harmful behavior. Yet we fail to provide our youth with effective guidelines. By implication, "anything goes." Even the Boy Scout Laws, which attempt to provide young men with a code of honor, cannot be taught in our schools because they make reference to God.

No nation can endure without practical standards for human conduct, in the home, in business, in society, and in international relationships. These standards need not be copies of the rules of any particular religion, but they must be standards to which we can all attempt to conform.

In view of long traditions which have persisted without serious challenge in our courts since our nation was founded, it should not require a constitutional amendment to permit *elective* courses in religion in our public schools. It should be no more contrary to public policy to offer a prayer at commencement exercises than it has been for two centuries to offer prayers in the halls of Congress.

Students in our schools are taught modern concepts in chemistry, biology, history, and other secular subjects. They learn to question conclusions that are not supported by facts, it will therefore be essential that religion teachers are prepared to present their subject matter in a manner which will be acceptable to enlightened minds.

From a harmonious blending of religious belief and tradition with an awareness of social needs it will be possible to generalize rules of morality which can be accepted by society at large as guides for personal, corporate, and governmental conduct.

3. REGULATING OUR NATIONAL BORDERS

A nation that cannot control its borders is like a house without walls, Its citizens and commerce are in constant jeopardy.

Although Americans have traditionally favored liberal immigration policies, and our citizens are of immigrant stock, our present circumstances now demand major changes. We are straining our resource base to provide our citizens with a comfortable standard of living. Several other nations now exceed our per capita income, and we are losing out in the international

competition for industrial production of many kinds. Millions of Americans are unemployed, a situation further aggravated by the entry of many women into the work force. Nearly three of four mothers are now employed outside the home, a situation made necessary by economic and social pressures.

Nearly ten percent. of Americans are not working, and are supported by public charity of one kind or another. Paradoxically, employers are unable to recruit enough workers to fill many openings in certain less than glamorous fields.

While thousands of Americans are supported in idleness in New York or Detroit, foreigners are smuggled across our borders by the hundreds of thousands each year to take jobs that our own people reject. In cities such as Chicago, hundreds of thousands of illegal aliens are driving taxis, staffing hotels, working in factories, and doing other work rejected by idle but able-bodied Americans.

We can no longer afford to tolerate this ridiculous situation! An illiterate Mexican or Jamaican citizen will travel thousands of miles to eagerly seek such employment; unemployed Americans should be *required* to make similar efforts. So long as we continue to provide a minimum income for our lazy or unskilled non-workers, they will continue to be non-workers. Changes must be made, and promptly. If a farmer in Florida or California needs field workers, unemployed Americans in other parts of the nation must be required to accept such employment, even if this involves re-training and relocating them. When necessary, we should assist citizens in moving from areas of high unemployment to areas where jobs are available. Inconvenience and readjustment are a necessary part of the process and must be accepted as a matter of course. Most of our ancestors crossed an ocean to come to this land of opportunity, usually in poverty, and without government assistance.

Proposals to require proof of citizenship are sometimes criticized as being "unAmerican," or akin to regulations of a police state. Actually, most Americans are quite willing to prove their identity when seeking employment. They do not object to this requirement when cashing a check, or settling a minor traffic violation.

Everyone should have a non-forgeable identity card, with name, address, social security number, and a single thumb

print. The original would be kept in a central office. A copy would be carried by each citizen when seeking employment or government-provided benefits. It would not be necessary for employers to ask for any additional proof of citizenship from job applicants. It would not be necessary to employ additional federal workers to police our borders. Foreign workers could not enter our country without prior approval for employment in jobs which cannot otherwise be filled. Americans who hired "undocumented aliens" (those without this simple proof of citizenship) would be heavily fined. Americans who refused to accept employment reasonably within their capability would be denied unemployment benefits, food stamps, and the like. We have been able to tolerate their behavior in the past simply because we were so prosperous, but now we have become a debtor nation. Financial strains on our economy will make it necessary that all able bodied citizens work, even if this requires some to accept employment which they feel is below their social station, or is esthetically distasteful. Requiring productive labor will strengthen our civic values, not weaken them.

4. TRANSPORTATION

Predictions of any kind are uncertain at best. Anticipated trends are often reversed or modified by new discoveries and altered circumstances.

An industrial society scattered over a territory as large as ours must have a distribution network for raw materials, finished goods, and people.

Our present transport system depends almost entirely upon internal combustion engines fueled with petroleum products. We are rapidly depleting our own reserves of crude oil, and are increasingly dependent upon foreign sources. Even those reserves are finite, and will not last forever.

Efforts are being intensified to develop alternative energy sources. The direct conversion of sunlight to electrical energy, or the indirect use of sunlight to generate hydrogen from water, both hold promise. The use of vegetation or of oil shale and oil sand may some day provide affordable fuels, but it seems likely that America's vast coal beds will supply much of our energy for a long time to come. This source will be supplemented for a

time by fissionable materials fueling electric generation, and some day in the future may be replaced forever by atomic fusion. In the meantime, coal can provide much of our power.

We have a vast network of highways and superhighways. These are public property, are not taxed, and can be used by all.

But times have changed. Our highway system is now subsidized so intensely that trucking has become the dominant means for transporting many raw materials and most manufactured products. Although trucks pay significant taxes in the form of licensing fees and fuel levies, they do not pay their share of highway costs. Highway engineers estimate that 90 per cent. of the vehicular damage on our roads is the result of heavily loaded trucks. Our interstate system might double its useful life if it carried no trucks. We have accepted the wear and costs of trucking because of the benefits it has brought us in providing door to door transportation. Yet from the standpoint of energy efficiency and national security there would be advantages in shifting much of the heavier long distance traffic to railroads, as is done in Western Europe.

Under present circumstances, this cannot be done. Our railroads must build and maintain their own lines, pay property taxes in every county and state, and compete at the same time with trucking operations which have access to publicly maintained highways, roads, and streets.

As a result, we observe railroad companies completely eliminating tracks which once served many small towns and hamlets, leaving these centers totally dependent on trucks and automobiles for all transportation needs.

Steel wheels rolling on steel rails, powered by abundant coal reserves, can still provide America with efficient, reliable, and economical transportation.

For reasons of military preparedness, if for no other, we should consider rejuvenating our railroads. When petroleum sources shrink, we still will have coal. Modern technology permits coal to be used with little pollution, whether in railroad engines or in central generating plants that service electric rail power.

It might be desirable for the federal government to establish a national railway network, maintained by government, but open

to privately owned railroad companies in much the same manner that now lets private truckers use our highways. The network would not be taxed, cancelling a major economic disadvantage. Heavy, double track systems could connect large urban areas, with single tracks once again serving every community. In some cases the median strip of the interstate highways could provide right of ways. Heavy, bulky loads could be shifted to the railroads for long distance moves. Trucks could continue to handle local distribution.

Monetary savings to our economy would be considerable, and our dependence upon foreign fuels would be lessened.

5. CITY PLANNING

Our earliest forebears were primitive hunters who moved from campsite to campsite. With the development of agriculture, they began to permanently occupy convenient sites. Homes and storerooms were constructed in clusters, establishing the first primitive villages. As agricultural production increased, some workers acquired new skills as metal workers, builders, and merchants.

There were inherent advantages in this arrangement. A variety of skilled workers in close proximity made their services available to large numbers of people. They could specialize and improve their efficiency. There were military advantages in population concentrations subject to a shared system of government and defending common interests.

Large populations favored many economic activities, giving the larger towns and cities advantages over the smaller. The pattern was followed world-wide in the evolution of urban centers.

The disadvantages of city living, however, also became apparent. Crowding thousands in small areas brought problems in providing water and food, in waste disposal, and in recreational opportunities. As early as 3500 years B.C., the Egyptians developed planned cities in attempts to relieve these shortcomings. Their example was later followed by the Greeks and Romans, with varying success.

In spite of constant warfare, and plagues and famines, human numbers increased during medieval times.

The industrial revolution caused another surge in human population. The economic advantages of large numbers of workers within walking distance of factories and mines caused a proliferation of slums and urban blight. Occasionally, voices were raised in favor of rational city planning, which would consider human needs beyond providing basic shelter and a survival diet. But in the face of intense economic competition, those voices were seldom heard.

Throughout the industrial world, production and marketing factors caused the development of mega cities. Large factories required large labor forces. Housing and feeding those populations could be accomplished at lower immediate cost if they were concentrated close to the productive facilities.

Today, it is not unusual for five or ten million souls to live and work in a single confluent area of streets, buildings, and other structures sprawled over perhaps 100 square miles, with here and there a park or a pond reserved as a gesture of reconciliation to an offended Mother Nature.

Certain economic principles cause central areas in large cities to develop extremely high land values simply because they are located along transport lines and are surrounded by large numbers of human beings who are both producers and consumers. Once set in motion, augmentation of central property values tends to be perpetuated. If transportation is available, merchandising and financial activities concentrate in those favored areas. Property owners increase their advantage by erecting larger and larger buildings. The process feeds on itself. Hotels and amusement activities develop in the neighborhood. Skyscraping towers are built, primarily for business activities, but increasingly for housing more affluent workers close to their places of work. Less favored workers, who compose the vast majority, are not helped by these trends. They are crowded to peripheral slums or to outlying suburbs, and must spend hours every day in the non-productive activity of commuting. To accommodate their travels, governments must spend billions of dollars to build and maintain vast highway and street networks. Citizens must buy and maintain automobiles and consume untold amounts of fuel in their daily travels, crowding the city centers and polluting the atmosphere. Buses and trains add to the expense and confusion.

Yet once it is in place, a megalopolis presents great attractions for new businesses. It provides resources and markets close at hand, with every conceivable sort of secondary support in the form of machines, transport, consultants, plus a large labor pool.

It is possible that a relatively small encouragement in the form of tax incentives and lower labor costs might lure future new enterprises to more rural settings. Such trends have become apparent in the shift of our textile industry and others from the Northeast into our sunbelt states in recent years.

The social rewards which would follow an expansion and general application of planned decentralization of business and industry would justify their costs many times over. Achieving that goal will require overruling purely economic forces that now dominate city growth.

Slums can be eliminated. Homes, factories, and commercial and retail centers can be spatially arranged with efficient internal travel patterns and with adequate separation of incompatible functions. Electronic intercommunications could compensate for the loss of physical proximity between specific urban entities. The savings in human hours and commuting fuel alone would pay a large part of the costs of decentralization.

An increased role for urban planning can do much for improving the daily lives of our descendants.

6. CONSERVATION

The gene pools of the plants, animals, and microorganisms which survive in the remaining wild areas of the world have required hundreds of millions of years to develop their present diversity. Expanding human occupation of the lands and seas is causing the extinction of many unique living forms every year. Here in America we have replaced much of the original wilderness with farms, cities, towns, and roads. Intensive farming is causing the loss of topsoil at a rate that threatens our long term ability to feed a large population. It is essential that we regulate our land use, prohibiting destructive farming practices, and encouraging the preservation of natural areas. Eventually, we may be able to restore expanses of prairie, forest, and wetland

to their primeval state, with re-established populations of their natural flora and fauna. It may even be possible to develop genetic manipulations which will "create" new life forms to enter the self-regulating processes of evolutionary selection. In future ages, our descendants may compensate in this manner for the harm we are causing today through unplanned excesses of our own reproduction.

7. MEDICAL COSTS

Americans now devote one tenth of their national income to medical, hospital, and nursing care. Costs continue to spiral upward, due largely to endless new developments in technology, drugs, and public expectations of immortality. In theory, there is no scientific limit to further advances, but from a practical and fiscal standpoint, there must be limits. We simply cannot afford to replace every failing heart with a pump or transplant. We cannot afford heroic measures to prolong by a few weeks or months the existence of every aging body. It is self-defeating to believe that we can continue to make these sophisticated services available, and to lower their cost simply by mandating lower prices. It will be necessary for well informed citizens to work with knowledgeable physicians in establishing guidelines that will make possible a reasonable allocation or "rationing" of the care we can collectively afford, favoring those individuals whose continuing lives are most valuable to society at large.

6. LITIGATION

We have become a nation of litigants. Millions of civil suits choke the court system, causing endless delays, vast legal expenses, and the defeat of justice.

A system of mandatory third party arbitration as a pre-condition for formal courtroom trials could do much to relieve the congestion in our present system, while at the same time reducing wasteful legal costs and promoting prompt justice in the resolution of disputes.

Arbitration panels could be provided at tax-payer expense. If all parties to a dispute accept the decision of the arbitration panel, the matter would be closed. If one or both parties persist

in seeking a jury trial, that service could be made available to them on condition that they agree to pay the full cost of such litigation if they fail to win their case.

In addition, there should be legislatively determined limits to jury awards and legal fees. Life is full of risks. A single human life is priceless. Yet under our present system, persuasive attorneys can convince juries that awards of millions of dollars are appropriate penalties to assess against citizens whose actions resulted in loss of life or limb for injured clients. Those attorneys then pocket a large fraction of those generous awards for their legal services.

As a result, liability insurance carriers are unable to provide financial protection at affordable prices for citizens or companies or agencies of government whose activities expose them to risk of litigation. Analyses of the financial records of many large insurance companies indicate that only a small fraction of liability premiums is paid to injured parties; the lion's share is consumed in the expenses of litigation.

America is almost alone in this pattern. It is time for us to follow the example of Great Britain or New Zealand, where liability insurance is far less costly, and where certain disability and death costs become a burden of the national social insurance programs.

9. A NEW LANGUAGE

The human species comes in a wide variety of sizes, shapes, colors, and facial features. That variety is matched by the more than three thousand languages which have evolved in our long past history.

Studies of diverse languages reveal wide differences in grammar, word variation, sound patterns, and syntax. They also reflect neurological and cognitive patterns shared by our entire species, which appear to shape all languages in a common general mold.

The human larynx, throat, and mouth differ from those of other creatures, and permit us to vocalize more than two hundred distinctive sounds, or phonemes. These we combine in endless variety to form the words and phrases which symbolize our thoughts, and which permit us to transfer

information from one to another in spoken or written form. Even primitive languages which pass from generation to generation without the aid of writing may contain more than 25,000 words.

Designing a universal human language for future generations will require discovery of the most efficient combinations and sequences of phonemes to most clearly express our thoughts with all their subtleties and nuances. Our esthetic sense will require its symbolic forms in sound and in letters to be pleasing to the ear and to the eye.

Phonemes will be arrayed in patterns which reflect variations in function. Each sound will correspond precisely with a single visual symbol. Inflections, pauses, rhythms, and other modifications of intonation will be indicated by accent symbols.

The visual characters will permit ease of writing by hand in the same form used in type so that both can be "recognized" by the seeing eyes of machines. In this way it will be possible for words to be spoken in the presence of an appropriate electromechanical device and to be transcribed in printed form by that device. Conversely, the machine will be able to "read" the printed version and "vocalize" it as clearly intelligible speech.

Development of the alphabet-syllabary of approximately 200 symbols will facilitate constructing a totally new language de novo, unlike the many previous efforts which have attempted to build upon existing language patterns (Esperanto, Interlingua, and others). The new language will reflect consideration for the sound patterns in the most general—and presumably most efficient—use within the languages which exist today.

The new language could evolve to become a universal tool for serving the communication needs of humanity.

VIII

A Beginning for the Age of Reason

ALTHOUGH WE HAVE IDENTIFIED the probable lines of our descent from ancestors who were less than human, the precise origins of humanity are lost in the remote past. We share with our forebears and with other creatures living today many anatomical and behavior features. We do not know when and how the spark of primitive reason grew sufficiently bright to transform us into what we audaciously claim to be: Homo sapiens, Man, the wise. The arrival of our species was not an instantaneous event. Very likely it occurred gradually over many thousands of years. We have not yet completed the transition. Our evolution continues even now as our emerging altruistic qualities struggle to gain dominance over the animal fires which stubbornly smoulder in our nature.

Our species has always been divided into competing factions. Even today, race, national loyalties, and many cultural values conflict with the more positive impulses which might otherwise make us a single harmonious family.

We feel menaced by neighbors who do not share our religious and political philosophies. Fears caused by these and other differences trigger animal-like responses. Suspicion and competition, rather than friendly cooperation, continue to dominate international relationships.

Modern societies have outlawed murder as a means for settling disputes between individuals. I cannot take the life or property of another simply because he offends or threatens me. I cannot join with others to attack and destroy an adjoining neighborhood. If marauders enter my home to pillage and destroy, society will attempt to protect me with police and military forces. We provide elaborate means for settling civil disputes in a non-violent manner, but we fail to provide similar mechanisms for resolving conflicts at the international level, where the stakes are much higher and the evil effects of conflict far more destructive.

We have given token attention to this problem with the United Nations, but we have made it ineffective by permitting certain nations to veto its decisions.

We spend vast sums for weapons and military personnel to defend our interests and those of our allies, but are miserly and unimaginative in seeking substitutes for war.

Even now, the world is weakened and disgraced by preparations for possible wars. This condition could be avoided entirely if we and our adversaries would rationally address the underlying causes for conflict. We permit the threat of war to divert us from devising means for regulating international conduct. Meanwhile, we neglect to rationally attack ignorance, poverty, and exploding human populations, which cause enormous misery and threaten thousands of other living species.

Nations are simply large groups of individuals. They should be bound by the same moral and social restraints that apply in interpersonal relationships, but here our standards have gone completely astray. We still accept the willful murder and destruction of warfare when governments declare that a state of war exists, or when with real or contrived justification, they set out to invade and conquer other nations.

War's causes are usually complex; it is often difficult to determine who is the aggressor, and which actions threaten world peace. In general, however, international problems are simply large scale versions of disputes between individuals, which are usually resolved by courts of law.

Society has failed dismally to establish practical and acceptable rules of national conduct. It has failed equally to provide collective means for enforcing any such rules. We therefore

continue to live in semi-anarchy. We now have the opportunity and the grave duty to establish a limited rule of law covering all nations in resolving their disputes with one another.

The family of nations has become polarized around the United States and the Soviet Union. The teachings of Karl Marx continue to influence the Soviet bloc. Like all Utopian dreams, Marx's vision was appealing. But like Plato and many others, Marx ignored the imperfections of the human condition and the failures of all previous attempts to establish Utopian societies that presupposed an idealized view of human nature.

Marxian morality holds that the end justifies all means when the end is world communism. This tenet is inconsistent with reason. Dialectical materialism has little concern for the intangible but real forces of the spirit, which include love, religious faith, altruism, and other prime movers of human behavior. Any rational basis for international cooperation must consider human nature in its entirety. Law without an ethical basis cannot endure.

Many communist leaders are no doubt idealistic in their own fashion. They believe they are serving their people when they slavishly follow the dictums of Marx and his modern successors. But too many, particularly those who reach the upper levels of leadership, are selected by the same processes which brought to power Josef Stalin, whose cruelties to his fellow citizens were unmatched even by the Czars.

Russian leadership is strongly influenced by more than 60 years of Party rule. Many Russians believe that the United States is plotting their conquest. But many others recognize that we and our allies proved our peaceful intentions at the end of World War II when the United States alone had the atomic bomb and could have conquered the earth. instead, we assisted friend and foe alike in rebuilding their shattered economies.

Even then, the followers of Marx were infiltrating and subverting our open American society, buying and stealing technology, and covertly influencing our domestic and foreign policies in many ways.

Internationally, the communists have continued to follow the tenets of Marx and Lenin. They have gained some degree of control over one third of the human family. Their grip is not

secure; it is based upon forced conformity, controlled information, and closed national borders. No doubt there are many pent up tensions within communist societies which could, under proper circumstances, violently erupt.

The communist nations deprive their citizens of material comforts in order to continue a massive military buildup. We can only conclude they still have as their goal revolution and world conquest. They continue to export money, arms, military forces, and "political advisors" to other nations, some of them struggling democracies, in attempts to overthrow their governments. Some non-communist governments, it must be said, are corrupt; many of them are dominated by self-serving dictators. But many small nations have reasonably open and honest governments. Yet most must contend with serious economic and social problems on the one hand while plagued by wholesale communist-directed sabotage and assassinations on the other. It is extremely difficult to make democracy work under these conditions.

When communist minorities seek control of a nation they have targeted for "revolution," they usually boycott elections. They know they cannot peacefully win over the "masses" they profess to serve; they *must* use force and violence. After they seize power, elections become a sham. No rival parties are tolerated.

Elections consist simply of endorsing a slate of candidates nominated by the Party elite. Membership in the Party is limited to a small number—rarely more than six per cent.—of the citizens. Members accept Party discipline and policy in all matters.

Expansionist activities by communist nations tend to bring into prominence individuals who are inclined to use force more than persuasion. The impact of their activities often has a similar effect within the target nations. Efforts by Russia to export revolution have prompted us to give military assistance to threatened nations. A vicious circle has been established.

Political evolution did nut die with Marx and Lenin! If only the world's leaders would devote at least 10 per cent. of their military and research budgets to peace! Surely they could devise political means for resolving their differences. If Karl Marx were alive today, he might enter such a dialogue will-

ingly, with views quite different from those he enunciated a century ago.

War between America and Russia is both unthinkable and unwinnable. The minds and hearts of humanity can be won only by rational means, and not by violence. Leaders in both countries should jointly develop an international philosophy whereby a variety of political and economic systems can coexist in friendly competition. The human condition permits an infinite variety of social adaptations. Political patterns will undergo endless change in the future. We should not attempt to fit all nations to one pattern. No system is suited to all future time.

If America and Russia will agree on this basic premise, together they can lead the world in a new, nonviolent, revolution that will make reason and compassion the guiding forces of humanity.

Americans seek a peaceful world. We resent having to maintain large military forces. But we are determined to preserve our political freedoms. We observe Russia, our recent ally and now our self-proclaimed antagonist, building awesome forces for war. Both we and they know that such forces are far greater than necessary for self-defense.

We will not unilaterally disarm when confronted by a nation pledged to our conquest. We are not fools. We cannot accept claims of disarmament from self-declared enemies without absolute verification of those claims. We are prepared to reduce our military forces and to grant Russia the same rights of verification that we ask for ourselves. They reject any such proposal.

We must, therefore, continue our efforts to block Russian expansionism, for a century if need be, even as we appeal to Russian thinkers to seek political solutions for international frictions.

Teachers advance, soldiers impede the progress of third-world nations. Answers to our problems will be found in knowledge and cooperation, not in warfare and subversion.

We cannot *compel* our potential friends in Russia to abandon the rigid teachings of Marx, nor can they *compel* us to modify the less pleasing features of Capitalism. Thinking people in both nations must soon realize the futility of continuing the "cold war" and its attendant arms race.

Surely we are capable of stabilizing national boundaries by cooperative actions of the family of nations. The difficulties are no more complex and no less amenable to analysis and solution than were the problems of placing men on the moon, or of decyphering the genetic codes of life. What we must now provide are the desire and the will to achieve that goal. Minds capable of discovering solutions can be found in all the major nations if only we will seek them out.

Let us join with Russia in establishing a World Congress of Human Reason, to be located in Russia so as to balance the United Nations location in New York. Let us finance it with funds taken from the military budgets of all nations. Then let us gather in its halls the brightest and best minds from every corner of the earth, to concentrate on the major problems of the human family with absolute freedom and objectivity. Its members will have access to all human knowledge. They will review the present state of humanity and its future prospects. The Congress will define and rank our major problems, and attempt to provide solutions for them. Its discussions will be open and vigorous, its studies unhampered by excessive political loyalties. Its conclusions and proposals will be published for the consideration of citizens everywhere. Nations will be free to accept or to reject its recommendations and to advance new proposals. Eventually, a consensus can be reached on specific subjects.

The first and most pressing assignment will be to expand and perfect international law so as to assure the territorial integrity and political independence of all nations. Boundary disputes must be resolved in a world court. Information must be freely exchanged and commerce encouraged, worldwide. Freedom of the seas must be assured. Assistance and advice can be offered in addressing thorny domestic problems, such as those which plague nations in the Middle East.

Collective intervention in the internal affairs of a nation can be permitted only when it is clearly demonstrated that its government is tyrannical or otherwise oppressive. Censure in the form of public condemnation or the application of economic penalties may be invoked when a nation is abusive to a minority of its citizens or to its neighbors.

Periodic open elections coupled with reasonable voter qualifications are the most reliable means for confirming citizen approval of a government. All nations should be encouraged to accept the discipline of periodic free elections.

On the world scene, humanity must accept that level of international control as will achieve these limited goals. Basic international law must be interpreted and applied through an impartial court system which can act without fear of veto, and with the support of the major nations and their moral, economic, and military forces. In extreme cases, decisions of the world court must be enforced by collective military action. Only in this way can world peace be assured.

All nations need not immediately accept this proposal. If the United States and Russia will give it their wholehearted support and by their example convince others of the wisdom of their decision, the rest of the family of nations will sooner or later join in this rational alternative to war.

Any nation may supplement the international police force with its own internal security forces, provided that these military organizations are incapable of posing a threat to others. Confining national armies within their own territories is a duty which must be assumed by the larger family of nations. This alone will prevent most wars.

Atomic arsenals should be dismantled and their warheads converted to peaceful uses. It may be prudent for the collective international military command to maintain a minimum array of atomic weapons during the transition period to discourage the secret deployment of similar arms by any individual nation.

In the political field, the peaceful interchange of ideas should be encouraged even though this cannot be mandated. But terrorists, political "activists" and assassins or subversives who seek the violent overthrow of established governments must be prosecuted. Minimum standards for freedom of speech should be encouraged universally to enlighten government on the informed views of their citizens.

Neither we nor the Russians have perfected our political and economic machinery to provide the "greatest good for the greatest number." Our enterprise economy can be modified in many ways so as to maintain economic incentives while avoid-

ing an unhealthy concentration of wealth through inheritance or monopolistic practices.

Russia may find it advantageous to bring into the political process a larger and more diversified segment of her population. She may find it helpful to adopt certain "capitalistic" incentives for stimulating economic efficiency. Increased personal freedom for her citizens may be beneficial for all.

As we have seen, all who share the human condition are captives of inherited cultural attitudes. Therein are rooted the frictions which divide the free and communist worlds.

Debates in the United Nations Assembly, and discussions in Geneva seeking the regulation of military weapons, although of some value in temporarily reducing tensions, are premised on continuations of the faulty attitudes of history. They do not recognise or address the *sources* of our conflicts.

The abolition of war will require a fundamental change in national *philosophy* of all nations. The atomic arsenals of the major powers provide sufficient and obvious cause to accept that change universally. Collective human reason—Common Sense—can be the ultimate weapon with which this goal can be achieved.

Extreme nationalism and fanatic political and religious faith can be tamed through persistent appeals to informed reason. Excessive reliance upon our rational powers can be tempered with a respect for tradition and by our acknowledgement of the fallibility of all that is human.

Traditional "patriotism" consists of an unswerving loyalty to the principles and interest of one's nation. It is a strong social force in welding dissimilar individuals and parties into effective, unified forces in the arena of international relationships. But excessive parochial patriotism has caused great human suffering and conflict, which applied reason might have avoided.

Today, the entire world is confronted by *common* problems of overpopulation, resource depletion, and threatened atomic conflict. These overshadow the continuing but less cataclysmic traditional frictions which still play their historic role in unsettling the tranquility of the family of nations.

We must develop a new patriotism on a larger base that will reflect the shared interests of all humanity, and all life on earth.

A World Congress of Human Reason can provide leadership in reshaping basic human attitudes. Its recommendations must reflect the collective Common Sense of humanity, tempered with appropriate respect for our religious faiths, our ethical awareness, and all our emotional and spiritual needs.

Bold initiatives by Americans and Russians can establish this new agency and help it resolve the philosophical conflicts which plague our species.

A vigorous and ongoing World Congress can hasten the dawning of the era foretold by the biblical prophet Isaiah, ". . . and they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

IX

On Revolution

"On what shall man found the order of the world
which he would govern? . . . Shall it be on justice?
Man is ignorant of it. . . . Certainly had he known it . . .
We would have seen it set up in all the States on
earth and in all times. . . .

"The art of opposition and of revolution is to
unsettle established customs, sounding them even
to their source, to point out their want of
authority and justice. . . ."

Blaise Pascal (1623-1662)
from "Pensees, On a Foundation
for Ordering the World"

THE FLOW OF TIME is associated with endless change in all matter of energy. Where life is present the pace of change is vastly increased. We humans undergo continuous remodeling in mind and body. We are born, we grow, we mature, age, and die. Our bodies begin as dust and water. After a brief span of perhaps 70 earth years we revert again to our elemental beginnings. Our lives are animated by a vital flame transmitted to us through an unbroken sequence of generations which can be

traced to a spark struck over two billion years ago on this planet.

Our life flame is shared with myriads of other forms which have evolved with us over the eons as powers of the Infinite have become manifest in the revelations of nature. We alone on earth have been gifted with brains that provide perception and reason sufficient to recognize at least dimly the ultimate majesty of a Supreme Being reflected in these manifestations.

We are beginning to understand our potential for guiding future evolution in a conscious and integrated fashion. Today our species continues a long pattern of strife and warfare. Divisive forces within us overpower other impulses which might unite all of humanity in concerted opposition to ignorance, misery, and discord. We are endowed with accumulations of knowledge and error inherited from the past. We often confuse one with the other and interpret reality in contrary ways.

The human family remains divided by multitudes of differences. Our world society is a seething cauldron of conflicts, bustle, and motion.

Yet our daily affairs require a degree of order. Social structures and codes of behavior must undergo periodic modification in order to meet changing needs within the body politic. History suggests that these changes occur by fits and starts. An established social pattern or government tends to remain stable for extended periods, coasting along on the inertial tendencies of its component laws, customs, and institutions. Gradually accumulating stresses ultimately force adaptive changes. We are creatures of habit. We often tolerate outmoded life patterns to avoid the discomfort attendant upon adopting new ones.

Ultimately our societies must demonstrate sufficient adaptability to meet major changes in the conditions of life. Governments and other social organizations which exist today have demonstrated that level of flexibility in the past or they would not have survived to the present point in history. Today all governments in the family of nations face widespread change—change brought about by an explosion in human numbers and human technology of a magnitude never before encountered.

Existing social and political structures must meet the challenges of the next century. Those which most effectively

combine wisdom, strength, and determination will play guiding roles in bringing our species into the future.

Threats to social stability take many forms. Some are internal, and relate to increasing literacy, to altered economic circumstances, and to evolutionary changes in the social order. Other destabilizing forces arise from changes in the political, economic, or military activities of neighboring states. Major acquisitions of knowledge unsettle many traditional beliefs.

Both historical records and a view of the present world picture reveal a variety of successful patterns of government. They cover a spectrum from absolute dictatorships to complete democracies. Control of the affairs of a state resides in a coalition of power centers. These may be apparent and straightforward, or partially concealed and disguised. In an absolute monarchy authority resides at least in theory in a monarch. But that authority may be dependent upon support by lesser nobles and ministers of government. Ultimately it requires continuing acceptance by the populace.

A similar situation exists in nations ruled by dictators, and sometimes on a smaller scale, in a tribe or even in a family. Custom and asserted power may spawn an assortment of patterns of what may be termed "authoritative" rule.

At the opposite extreme societies may be "democratic," with each citizen, at least in theory, having coequal status with all others. Certain city states in ancient Greece functioned under conditions which permitted major state decisions to be reached in assemblies of all the citizens, even though they may have numbered upward of 30,000.

Our American institutions are democratic in principle but republican in practice. We delegate legislative functions to officials elected by the common people.

Communistic societies are nearer the authoritarian end of the spectrum. They are ruled by a single "Party" which is self-perpetuating and elitist. Membership is offered selectively to citizens who meet criteria established by the party leadership. Conformity to party discipline is rigidly enforced. Debate within the party must be carefully structured to avoid challenging established leaders and hallowed doctrines.

Democracies have a stability of sorts which flows from the ability of the population to achieve changes in the social struc-

ture through open elections. Demands for reform or for new government policies do not accumulate to disruptive levels when the safety valve of the ballot box is available at regular intervals.

Communist societies have stability of another sort, with concentrations of economic, police, and military power under the control of the ruling coalition. By skilfully directing the flow of information, and by anticipating to reasonable degrees the physical and intellectual needs of the populace, such governments can survive for long intervals. They enjoy certain advantages of leadership if they have the wisdom and the will to use them. Wise leaders can sometimes foresee future needs which require stern anticipatory measures. If they demonstrate by their actions an apparent devotion to the service of their citizens they usually maintain themselves in power.

In democratic societies it is sometimes difficult for leaders to require sacrifice from citizens who are beguiled by other candidates for office who through ignorance or mere ambition promise unlimited "benefits" from the public treasury. It is difficult for leaders in democratic societies to seek changes in traditional attitudes which may have been made desirable by alterations in the human condition.

Revolutions are social upheavals in which an entrenched combination of power centers is forcefully deposed by new coalitions favoring doctrines of a radically different nature. Revolutions may occur in all societies, although they may come about in different manners, violent, or otherwise.

When social evolution has produced change to a level beyond the adaptive power of an existing government the stage is set for overthrow of the old order by new coalitions of power which offer promise of adapting society to its altered circumstances.

A "justified" revolution is one which arises when there has developed a marked disparity between the asserted right to rule of an established government and the combined political wills of its citizens. To be justified, a revolution must achieve in actual fact a better representation of the political will of its people than was provided by the deposed system.

A revolution that is simply a violent overthrow of one set of self-serving rulers by another is no more than a coup. Occa-

sionally even a coup can be considered justified if it results in replacing a tyrant with more moderate rulers who better serve the needs of the people.

Regimes installed through intrigue and violence are subject to overthrow in like manner.

Democratic societies are less inclined to takeover by factions because of their feedback mechanisms which maintain a degree of conformity between the will of the people and the actions of government.

But democracy is fragile, even when the electorate is composed of literate and reasonably informed citizens. When the people are uneducated and illiterate, democracies are extremely vulnerable to takeover by militants who achieve control of the police, the military, and public information forces. Skillful conspirators may seize power, suppress the populace, and use the resources of an entire nation to pursue their own selected goals, even in a culturally advanced nation. This occurred in Germany when Adolph Hitler seized power. It occurred in different circumstances in Russia when followers of Marx under the guidance of Lenin gained absolute control of the largest nation on earth by seizing the reins of power from the poorly organized leaders of an earlier revolution which had deposed the Czar.

Revolutions may be bloodless, or they may be terribly destructive of life and social institutions. They may improve the lot of nations, or plunge them into conditions worse than those which gave them birth.

Today the entire world is concerned with an ideological struggle between two general philosophies. On the left of the spectrum are communistic societies, theocracies, and dictatorships which contend that the affairs of mankind are too complex for citizen control. These systems function under the guidance of elitist ruling groups. In communist nations this is the Party. In Iran today it is a religious hierarchy. In other societies it may be a dictatorship, or rule by a military junta, supported by influential groups in the civilian sector.

In such societies individual rights are curtailed. Political and economic activities are controlled at least to some degree by the central authority. Freedom of discussion and dissent are often non-existent. Personal liberties are severely curtailed in these

authoritarian societies, whether they be communist, capitalist, religious, or otherwise.

On the right end of the scale are the democracies or quasi-democracies which attempt to function with elected officials while preserving freedom for all but the most flagrantly disruptive political activities.

Neither of these general types of government has succeeded in devising mechanisms which so clearly demonstrate superiority that all human beings everywhere flock willingly to its banner. No major power except China has indicated an awareness of the problems of overpopulation. No nation has proposed programs which will bring the entire world family into a perpetual balance with nature. No nation or alliance has proposed acceptable programs for freeing international commerce, maintaining universal peace, and establishing a stable world order in which there is no armed conflict, and in which individual nations are free to experiment with trials of new systems for self-rule and economic development.

Instead the major powers remain concerned primarily with their rivalries and with endless expansions of military forces, bleeding their societies and diverting attention and resources which might otherwise be serving the peaceful needs of all mankind.

The communist leadership remains committed to outmoded ideological concepts propounded by Marx and Lenin. They continue to make private capitalism a scapegoat for all the world's problems, ignoring the real contributions to human life which have been made possible by reasonably regulated capitalistic agencies coupled with prudent taxes on profits, property, income, and inheritances.

Enlightened people today recognize that humanity can adapt to widely divergent economic and social systems in different circumstances and in different times. It is possible for all to coexist peacefully if nations will only determine collectively that peace *must* be preserved. World problems of population control, economic development, education, and the pursuit of justice and happiness can be dealt with in an infinite variety of ways.

We *are* in need of world revolution. But it must not be one of force and violence. It must be a revolution of human *attitude*, a

revolution that will outlaw the abominations of war, replacing it with judicial means for solving international frictions, with decisions enforced by a representative coalition, perhaps through a reinvigorated United Nations organization.

That peaceful revolution can begin with joint actions by dominant members of the world family to prevent the military forces of any nation from crossing the borders of another. Similar joint efforts can assure all nations the free exchange of goods and information throughout the world.

No one knows which way human institutions will evolve in future ages. There is strength and hope in diversity, exploring many pathways in efforts to achieve our maximum potentials.

Sensible people in all nations realize that an atomic war is unthinkable as a conscious policy for any nation. It would be suicidal and universally destructive.

It is time for a new generation of leadership in America, Russia, China, and all the nations of the earth to join in cooperative efforts to establish lasting world peace.

Achieving *this* goal will constitute the final revolution in world thought which will establish an Age of Reason.

X

Reflections on God and Religion

ATHEISM HAS BEEN MADE the official religion of Russia and other communist nations. In part this has been due to concepts which have become an essential part of religious doctrine in many of the world's established religions. Yet religious teachings are subject to evolution as they interact with expanding knowledge in other fields. No one can foretell the precise nature of the concepts which will characterize Christianity and other religious faiths 1,000 or even 100 years hence. It would be helpful in bridging the chasm which now separates the philosophical foundations of the United States and Russia if we could reinterpret our religious tenets in a manner which would appeal to self-proclaimed atheists. I present here certain reflections of a personal nature which seek to reach those minds. If they offend readers who hold to more traditional views I hasten to note that I am only a private citizen, and do not attempt to alter the convictions of those who sincerely hold contrary beliefs.

A human being is composed of perhaps 60 trillion cells, all working together to maintain a collective existence in this hostile world. Each of those cells, viewed alone, is a living miracle—a manifestation of vast intelligence and eternal energy. Our bodies combine many organs and tissues including specialized components capable of reproducing our species in an endless succession of increasing variety.

How matter begins the continuing phenomenon of life is beyond our understanding. We observe with wonder those features of living things which can be projected into our limited sphere of knowledge. Life appears to be an intrinsic potential of *all* matter, requiring precise circumstances to bring it into being.

We are bewildered by the marvels of the human brain, which combines perhaps one trillion interconnected cells in a central control mechanism for the body as a whole, receiving information from the environment, processing, reviewing, and storing it, and using it to guide its sheltering body through a brief existence here on earth.

We cannot know whether each of the multitudes of brain cells is aware of its own existence. We do perceive that all of them working collectively give rise to our individual awareness and to our thoughts, feelings, and purposeful actions.

We observe that each nerve cell or neurone is an entity unto itself, with filamentous projections which lead to other cells in the nervous system and throughout the body. Each neurone and somatic cell plays a special role in the concerted activities which give rise to our individual identities.

If each cell is self aware in some miniature manner, it is unlikely to be capable of recognizing its subsidiary role in the body as a whole.

We now understand that every living cell is an extremely complicated chemical factory. Each one is made of millions of component molecules—some small and others large and intricate. Certain of the larger protein molecules combine thousands of atoms in precise arrangements. All are suspended in a watery medium which permits the continuous motions and chemical interactions which together make up the dynamic equilibrium we recognize as life. Life *is* chemistry. It is a manifestation of potentials universally present in matter and energy. The coordinated reactions contained within the delicate membranes of each cell continue an ongoing struggle to maintain its integrity in opposition to contrary natural forces which appear to impel all things relentlessly toward disintegration and decay.

The trail of life on this planet can be traced backward in time for more than 2 billion years. The general pattern manifests a trend toward increasing complexity, with continuous adaptation to changing environmental conditions. There is evidence that all living earthly things have derived from a single begin-

ning, although it is possible that the spark of life may have been struck on several occasions, each time establishing simple beginnings from which similar sequential changes have evolved to manifest life forces until then dormant and hidden.

Once in motion the miracle of life has continued to unfold the increasingly variegated display of plants, animals, and microscopic forms now known to us. We observe the process of growth and differentiation advancing even now, creating new forms and adaptations within the mantle of living things.

Dissection of a cell beyond the molecular level reveals its elemental atomic components. We have learned that each atom resembles a miniature solar system, with planetary electrons whirling eternally in orbital patterns around a central nucleus.

In a limited way we understand some of the smaller structural features of the atomic world. We visualize electrons, protons, neutrons, and many other substructures of diminishing size and substance. Today it appears that the ultimate building blocks may be entities labeled quarks. These together with their energy equivalents make up what we perceive as reality. But we know that our perceptions are illusory, and that what seems solid is mainly empty space sparsely occupied by ghost-like foci of energy which are continuing even now an endless frenzied dance which began with the birth of this universe and which may have undergone transcendental changes in a pathway which extended back beyond time. When we attempt to understand reality beyond our present impressions we are groping in realms and shadows which are beyond our ken.

Every moment of our lives chemical processes are interchanging and replacing atoms, molecules, and complete cells within us. Although the general design and identity of our bodies remain relatively constant, the building blocks which comprise us are undergoing continuous rearrangement. Atoms now a part of one cell may in a few moments be part of another. Matter present in a human being today has been in existence for billions of years. Perhaps it was once interstellar dust. Then it became part of our earth, condensed into solidity with our solar system's birth. Yesterday it may have been part of a plant or a farm animal. Today it is human, giving rise to thought or action. Tomorrow it will again be dust. In the course of time it may undergo a series of deaths and reincarnations in the organic mantle of this planet.

We recognize in moments of introspection that our realities are illusions fashioned by our senses and cognitive function. They are rooted in eternal constants which we can never fully understand. Each quark, electron, proton, atom, and molecule is a manifestation of the Almighty. Our natures, thoughts, and actions are expressions of an eternal essence, reflecting for an instant the light of an infinite and eternal being as the plane of the present sweeps down the endless dimension of time. Each atom, molecule, and cell within us contributes to our identity and awareness. Our joys, pains, and strivings may embody turmoils existing eternally in the soul of the Supreme Being, the summation of all existence. Perhaps we are like cells in the mind of God, contributing to celestial functions beyond our ken, just as our own cells unknowingly fashion our thoughts and actions. Perhaps the laws of nature order and constrain even the living and eternal Deity from which they spring, and of which they are a part. Conflict and suffering may be eternally a part of the Divine Plan except as they can be resolved and eased by forces for good, working through us and other agencies. In our brief life each of us has a precious moment in which to exert our energies for good or evil. After death we may return to the infinite whole from which we spring, as a raindrop returns to the sea. We and all things are parts of eternal reality. All pathways lead finally to God, and are closed circles in and of God. It may have been in this sense that Christ said, "Before Abraham was born, I am." His life manifested in a perfect manner divine qualities which are imperfectly expressed in all of us. Mary, his human mother, played a unique role as the agency which "made him man." Christians believe that the divine nature of Christ remains with us, and that it is in some mysterious manner present in the physical form of the Eucharist.

Throughout human history religion has worn many costumes and played many roles. In an earlier age it was rooted in superstition and fanciful speculation, just as were our understandings in science and other domains. And like all human understanding, even today it remains childlike and primitive when measured on an absolute scale. We acknowledge that our powers are finite and that we can never grasp the true nature of the cosmos. However, it is likely that we will carry our quest for understanding to the limits our simple powers permit. Human

curiosity will ever consider ignorance a vacuum to be filled and a darkness to be illuminated. And this will be just as true for religion as for mathematics, physics, and chemistry.

In order to discuss religion objectively let us confine the term to include those human institutions and beliefs which seek to understand and to guide the relationships between humanity and the Infinite. All searchers for truth, including professed atheists and agnostics, can join freely in such a quest.

The major religious bodies in today's world crystalized their beliefs and rituals long ago when human understanding was even more limited than the childish perceptions of reality we hold today.

Yet most of those religions gathered and nurtured ethical standards and rules of conduct which strengthened and sustained their adherents in the struggle for earthly survival. In the long course of history the various religious traditions have accumulated many incidentals, some of which have outlived their usefulness. In the intellectual ferments of today some of these unessentials are being questioned and discarded. All too often the inappropriateness of ancillary doctrines causes some people to discard all religion, leaving a painful void which cannot be filled by a substitute.

Very often religious leaders become excessively concerned with trivia in doctrine and ritual. Like the Pharisees of old they fail to re-state valid beliefs in harmony with evolving knowledge in secular fields. Because of this failure religion has been subjected to much criticism, and sometimes to ridicule. Unthinking belief has sometimes replaced judicious evaluation. In religious controversy as in politics, fanaticism may displace reason, leading to vast human suffering. We forget that a complex subject can be viewed from many vantage points. This can lead observers to seemingly contradictory conclusions which can be reconciled by further study.

The quest for truth is not for cowards. Treasured traditions and comfortable beliefs must not be permitted to overpower solid contrary evidence.

Religious leaders should emulate their scientific contemporaries. Traditional understandings must be constantly revised and modified to incorporate new perspectives which appear as the total knowledge horizon of humanity is expanded through observation, experimentation, and reflection. Eternal and

absolute truths undoubtedly exist. Yet it is unlikely that human beings can ever totally and accurately encompass them with our limited and fallible understanding. Appropriate humility suggests that we regard all our knowledge as incomplete and tentative, ever subject to revision in the light of new information. Acceptance of this posture will eliminate most of the apparent conflicts between science and religion.

Truth cannot conflict with truth. Christianity can exist in harmony with many elements of Humanism, Confucianism, or Pantheism. Our understanding of philosophy is child-like and limited.

But not all philosophic questions are amenable to scientific analysis. There is a legitimate place for inspired teachings by religious leaders who may through intuition or inspiration perceive concepts which lie beyond the reach of human reason and scientific proof.

So long as those teachings do not conflict with our reasoned judgments and so long as they contribute to human happiness they can be accepted on faith which transcends reason.

The ceremonials, vestments, and practices of ancient religions are not without value. They lend beauty and an appropriate aura of reverence to religious observances.

The concept of prayer as a function of our nature can be accepted on faith. We may regard it as an effort to communicate in thought with the Supreme Being and with other non-physical beings, even including other-worldly projections of people now dead. The efficacy of prayer is not suitable for scientific study. Yet throughout history notable human beings have often made prayer a part of their lives. Even in our modern and stylishly Godless world many leaders in the quest for scientific knowledge have gained through their observations of nature an abiding reverence for the majesty and mystery of God. They acknowledge many differences between their views and the teachings of specific religions. But they do not find those differences necessarily unreconcilable, allowing for variables in viewpoint and levels of perceived certainty.

We cannot scientifically prove the existence of a life after death. For many people the concept represents a deep-seated hope for a continuation and perfection of our existence in another dimension-set in which the injustices and sufferings of this earthly life will be made right on the eternal scales of what

we humans perceive as justice. Throughout our history belief in an afterlife has been a source of solace and hope for many human minds.

In considering these and other areas of controversy we must not *reject* reason even though we openly acknowledge its limitations. So long as we do not permit faith to *override* our rational powers we should use those talents to explore the frontiers which lie at the outer limits of scientific observation. In death we may reach final answers to these questions. It is possible that we may disappear into an eternal oblivion in which no answers are needed or sought. Those of us who attempt to accept and to follow the teachings of Jesus Christ take comfort in the promise of a better existence which is to come.

On the outer perimeter of human understanding there are no boundaries between fields of study. Modern physics has advanced our imagery of reality to a level indistinguishable from the spiritual. Enlightened *religious* leaders of tomorrow must maintain a reasonable understanding of human knowledge as it explores new areas. They must continuously redistill the beliefs and practices of their own special field of study to preserve and perfect the application of those enduring moral principles which can best guide humanity through the social hazards of the future.

Today it is apparent that no religion has a monopoly on truth. It is also demonstrably true that the traditional teachings of most religions are grossly inaccurate in their views relating to cosmology, and to the role and duration of human existence on the face of this planet.

Acclaimed religious teachers did not profess to be expert in science. Their appeals were directed primarily to the moral sense of humanity. They often spoke in parables to express in simple language the ethical message of their mission. Their listeners were more often than not simple, unschooled people.

Are we not all "children of God"? Physically we are children as members of the community of living creatures. And we are children in a spiritual sense as well. Each of us is endowed with understanding and with a limited control over our own actions. We possess a simple ethical sense to permit a choice between good and evil, and our lives provide many opportunities to exercise that choice. We are aware of our good, altruistic impulses, and are equally aware of another aspect of our nature

which is selfish, destructive, and antisocial. We have survived as social creatures in a hazardous environment because our ethical nature has never been completely overwhelmed by evil.

As our knowledge of physical reality increases it will become more and more important that we permit our altruistic instincts to *dominate* our behavior. The survival of an Age of Reason will depend upon this change in our living patterns.

We may review in this light the teachings of Christ as they apply to the nations of the earth today, even those whose present philosophies and goals are in most direct opposition to his non-violent message. Jesus Christ was an historical figure, although little is known about his humble life. It manifested mysteries which are not explainable scientifically. His coming was foretold by Jewish prophets centuries before his birth. They described certain details of his career and the genealogy from which he would derive.

Christ preached a message of love among mankind, and between mankind and God. He referred to God in the anthropomorphic terms of his day. He spoke often of "my Father" in heaven. He spoke of himself as the Son of God as well as the son of man. He spoke of humanity as the "children of God." He stressed spiritual values over material things. And he was largely rejected by Jewish leaders because the Messiah they were expecting was to be a powerful worldly figure who would free their people from oppression.

Christ spoke of his kingdom as "not of this world," yet promised to remain with his followers until the end of this world. He foretold a perfected kingdom "of which there will be no end."

Although he was a simple Jewish carpenter with little formal education he revealed from an early age a profound new understanding of humanity. He remained a simple citizen until he was about 30 years of age. He then traveled about the countryside preaching to ordinary people his other-worldly thoughts.

He foretold his own betrayal and execution, but predicted to his closest followers his early resurrection from death.

He gained attention by performing miracles, but gained even greater loyalties by his penetrating understanding of the simple human beings who followed him. He foretold that his teachings would ultimately prevail.

He could have avoided execution by the Romans, but freely accepted his death as a final fulfillment of the role he was to play on earth in some eternal divine plan. A few days after his death he did reappear to his closest disciples in what must have been a profoundly inspirational manner. In the course of a few weeks he was seen at close hand by large numbers of men and women who had known him personally.

Most of those believers had been in hiding since his execution, fearful that they might be subjected to similar treatment.

His presence inspired them in some mysterious way, wiping away their fears, and instilling in them a fierce resolve to go out into the Roman world to spread the message he had taught in his brief three years of public life.

Christ's appearance on earth two thousand years ago did not take the form which had been anticipated. Perhaps his predicted second coming will be as different from our expectations today.

He may be with us in a spiritual form even now as his teachings struggle to extend their permeation of our collective human awareness and subconscious. He did not see himself as the special prophet for a particular human group. He spoke in terms of universals, and addressed all the nations of the earth. He advanced concepts which can appeal to all people of all faiths.

Perhaps the second coming of Christ will take the form of a dawning of an age of collective human reason in which interhuman love and compassion will dominate our individual and national behavior.

We know that humanity is a new and highly adaptable species. Judging by the records of other living things our descendants should still be on earth several million years into the future. The cultural institutions and churches which accompany us today will undoubtedly undergo vast change in that long interval.

It is to be hoped that the spiritual message of the great religions will continue to thrive and to increasingly dominate and inspire the lives of a perfected human family until the last person fades and dies on this remote planet.

XI

On the Conversion of Russia

OUR COLLECTIVE AWARENESS is awakening to the master role we may play in guiding the affairs of this planet.

The past five centuries have witnessed a vast expansion of human knowledge. Generally the scientific world has accepted change willingly, even though this has sometimes required radical revision of traditional views. Scientists regard all human understanding as incomplete and fallible. They increasingly recognize no boundaries between fields of study. There is a growing awareness of the unitary nature of all knowledge.

Throughout the modern world pragmatism tends to displace faith—sometimes to our disadvantage. New concepts are tested rigorously against what is already known of reality.

As the scientific attitude is extended into the worlds of philosophy it is important that we do not destroy that faith which transcends reason as we attempt to reconcile traditional beliefs with our expanding understanding of the physical world.

If we consider the term religion to consist of *that field of human activity which attempts to relate mankind with the Infinite,* we observe in our past history a wide variety of institutions sharing that purpose. We see that they have developed a multitude of doctrines, rituals, and practices which attempt to express our

awe and respect for the ultimate source of all that we perceive, Most religions call that ultimate reality God. Through religious observances they attempt to demonstrate human acceptance of God's will. Our understanding of God continues to evolve as we slowly gain in knowledge and shake off the accumulation of superstition and error gathered in our misty past.

The major religions of today can be traced to primitive beginnings in the mythology and folklore of our remote ancestors whose archaic beliefs often characterized God as a man-like creature possessing on an infinite scale the thoughts and feelings we experience as human beings. Lacking words to represent God in an adequate fashion we have come to refer to the Almighty as a person, even as a person of the masculine gender. Jesus Christ referred to God as the Father of humanity. These concepts permeate our literature, our attitudes, and our beliefs.

There is general agreement that our understanding of God is distorted and inadequate. We continue to use ancient concepts because of habit and because we lack good substitutes. Many wise people concede that God is almost completely unknowable for human minds and senses.

Ancient writings which still play a prominent role in religions of the Judeo-Christian-Muslim tradition sometimes describe God as stern, righteous by human standards, vindictive, unforgiving, and tyrannical. At other times God is represented as all-wise, loving, solicitous for our welfare, and forgiving of our failings. These conflicting interpretations reveal the inadequacy and confusion of our attempts to describe the true nature of the Supreme Being.

Yet these ancient beliefs are often clothed in beautiful language and imagery. They are interwoven with treasured customs and concepts to such a degree that we question them only with mental distress and reluctance. We are slow to acknowledge error in honored religious teachings even when they clearly conflict with evidence in the secular world. Most human beings are unwilling to abandon emotional attachments to traditional beliefs and find it simpler to let faith override reason. When we consider these subjects we should utilize the time scale which science has established with reasonable certainty for our planet and for our species. Human beings have

existed here for at least 100,000 years. We will very likely continue to evolve for a longer span into the future. Certain of the myths developed by our primitive ancestors to explain our existence and our purpose can be traced backward in time for only a fraction of that interval. Many modern religionists accept these stories as allegories. Others of more fundamentalist creeds regard them as absolute and literal truths. "True believers" ignore contrary evidence and accept ancient teachings as direct inspirations from God which must be believed in every detail. Problems result when there are conflicts between such "sacred" beliefs and the observations and reasoned conclusions of secular students.

Clashes between faith and reason are especially distressing for faithful believers who have not had access to all the evidence. But religious convictions often defy reason even among educated individuals. If these people occupy positions of influence, great mischief may result.

Religion has been a powerful force in guiding human behavior. It has helped societies to regulate individual desires and needs for the benefit of the larger group. It has sometimes protected human rights by emphasizing the worth and dignity of every person in the larger scheme of existence. Such religions have served a stabilizing role and have justified their existence by assisting their followers to endure and to survive.

But religion has been a mixed blessing. Many crimes against reason and humanity have been committed in its name. Savage wars have been waged by zealous religious factions over doctrinal disagreements which must surely appear trivial in the mind of the Infinite God. Some of the most irrational struggles in human history have been fought by fanatics in the name of Christianity—actions diametrically opposite to the loving and peaceful views of Christ, its founder. Most of us who claim to be Christians have failed to fully incorporate Christ's teachings in our own behavior. Our collective record is not good. Animal forces deep within our nature are powerful and difficult to control.

Religious leaders are especially slow to accept advances in secular knowledge. Advancement through the hierarchy of religious organizations is more dependent upon orthodoxy than upon an innovative spirit. Sometimes centuries pass

before religious authorities accommodate their doctrines to demonstrated reality. From the earliest days of the Christian church through the Spanish Inquisition, the Reformation, the tribulations of Galileo, and the controversies which followed the publication of Darwin's theory of evolution, Christian zealots have repressed reasoned study. Even the ancient Greeks, while professing to honor reason, were guilty of its abuse. Socrates was executed for daring to teach new ideas to the young of Athens. All too often religious spokesmen fail to assume *leadership* roles in applying new secular knowledge to the practical problems of human existence.

Even now certain theologians ignore overwhelming evidence confirming that our species has become too numerous to maintain a perpetual balance with the environment. They view our sex drives as forces tinged with evil. They perpetuate ecclesiastical rules for the regulation of sexual behavior which are quite impractical as a means for achieving an optimum population equilibrium.

The most intense pressures of over-population, malnutrition, and resource depletion exist today in those geographic areas most dominated by traditions favoring high birth rates without regard for the consequences. In some of these areas religious forces play a dominant role in society and could provide leadership to improve the material welfare of the people. Yet they neglect their opportunity and by their failure foment conditions which make their followers targets for conquest by the forces of anti-religion.

Under the constraints established by orthodoxy many religious teachers fail to seek workable economic programs which could adapt their followers to life in an industrialized world. Very often their efforts are of the Utopian variety, suggesting only that the wealthy offer charity to the poor. They ignore their opportunity to educate the poor to become productive members of a social order in which there will *be* no poverty. They fail to provide the teaching and motivation required for their members to work, to study, to regulate their reproduction, and to properly utilize their material resources. They devote perhaps too much attention to an afterlife and neglect the duties of the living generation to use our talents and our intellects in the most fruitful manner here and now.

Religious leaders are not alone in their disordered priorities and orthodox thinking. Communism, which professes to serve the common man, is so preoccupied with its struggle to conquer the world that it neglects the temporal welfare of its citizens everywhere it has achieved power. Many communist spokesmen are completely saturated with the venom of anti-religion. They tend to repress religious activities rather than to encourage the development of needed reforms within religious movements.

Much of today's lack of respect for religion is fueled by clerics who refuse to accommodate ancient teachings to current problems. They may be so concerned with man-made accoutrements of their faiths that they overlook the broader and more fundamental goals which have been enunciated by their spiritual forebears. Minutia of religious law and ritual observance may overshadow human needs. This is often true in the Christian and Muslim religions today, just as it was in the Jewish religion when Christ criticized the Shammaite Pharisees for their legalistic excesses.

Ordinary citizens of this atomic age still yearn for the spiritual comfort that can be derived from religious observances. It would be helpful if spiritual leaders would emulate the questioning attitude of their scientific contemporaries. Material sciences are modified on a day-to-day basis to incorporate new knowledge from all areas of human investigation. The interchange of secular knowledge is immediate and ongoing. Truth does not change, whether in science or in philosophy. Our *understanding* does change as we gain in knowledge and as we change our vantage points. This is true for religion and for all things.

Now changes in understanding occur more rapidly than ever before. Laggards in knowledge are increasingly handicapped.

Today humanity is being divided into two political camps. On one hand are the imperfectly democratic nations which favor individual rights and a degree of freedom for economic activity. Most of these nations permit religious institutions to operate with few restrictions. Included here are a number of noncommunist socialist states which concentrate much economic power in a central government while preserving a degree of personal freedom. In the other camp are the militant com-

munist nations which severely restrict personal and economic freedom. They discourage the practice of religion because there is so much historical evidence of instances in which religion's faults have outweighed its benefits. They cite the many occasions when fanatics have gained control of human society in the name of religion, and have then abused their powers. Communist societies may also fear to share allegiance between the party and an invisible God. Yet communist leaders often substitute for excessive religious zeal an equally excessive political fervor which has the same shortcomings, and which has resulted in comparable abuses of human rights when fanatics such as Stalin have been in command.

Communist nations are presently engaged in a massive campaign to spread their political beliefs over the entire earth through propaganda, subversion, and military aggression. They are directed by ruthless, singleminded, but rational individuals who have concentrated in a few hands at the top of a controlled political pyramid all the reins of power. At this time they find no use for religion.

Certain Christian leaders are now seeking the conversion of Russia to a belief in God. There is at least a possibility that their program of prayer might be answered if it were bolstered by a companion program for material human guidance which outlined plausible suggestions for achieving universal peace, social justice, and the progressive expression of human potentials in an atmosphere of reasonable freedom.

Vast numbers—perhaps a majority of human beings now living—cling to at least an ill-defined belief in a Supreme Being—a supreme intelligence aware of our existence and concerned with our fate. Let us now call on all who acknowledge their dependence upon God, by whatever name God is known to them, to extract from their collective beliefs a universal code for human conduct which will be acceptable to most reasonable people of all persuasions. Let its tenets be sufficiently flexible that they may adapt to a wide variety of divergent—even conflicting human social backgrounds—while still requesting a level of behavioral conformance sufficient to control the conflicts which arise in human affairs. Adjudication of differences must reflect a consensus of informed world opinion. All parties must be sufficiently flexible and tolerant that they will accept decisions which may not fully satisfy all of their desires.

We cannot resolve in a century or in a thousand centuries all the discords which relate to religious doctrines and rituals. We cannot sweep away the variety of political systems developed through human experience throughout time. Yet we can assert our rationality as we face the coming years of crisis. We can agree to permit differences of opinion in these areas. At the very least we can substitute toleration and arbitration in place of warfare in settling our larger disputes.

Surely there are certain basic principles of *conduct* which could be accepted by most of humanity, especially when the alternative is war. Today each of the major religions includes among its dedicated members some who are well acquainted with specific fields of secular knowledge. There are also many fair and open-minded human beings of wide experience and compassion who may have no particular religious affiliation. Let us seek from all these individuals a basic moral code derived from the shared beliefs of all religions and philosophies, a code which will be pleasing to the largest possible number of human beings, now and in the future.

Can we not obtain general agreement that perceptive life has value? Is not just peace better for humanity than unjust war? Is unprovoked aggression ever a moral good? Is it not desirable that each human being should have an opportunity to seek a useful and rewarding life? Should not society collectively seek to establish conditions which favor the happy development of humanity everywhere on earth according to the reasoned deliberations of its best informed and most compassionate minds? Is it not a primary obligation of the individual and of the state to use rational and pacific means to achieve human happiness while respecting the rights of other human beings and our obligation to all other living things? Is it not wise to restrain individuals and public officials from abusing others? Is it not a good thing to encourage an unending search for wisdom and for spiritual insight?

These and other basic questions of behavior will have direct relevance to the design of a universal code for human behavior and its associated credo of basic principles and beliefs.

The accelerating arms race between the communist camp and its avowed adversaries threatens to erupt into a universal war which may set civilization back 10,000 years. Now is the critical

moment in history when religious philosophers should set aside their contentious differences and enter into a dialogue which can provide moral guidance for all humanity. If those who believe in God cannot agree on this need, how can we ever expect political authorities to resolve their differences in a way which will permanently avert war?

We can hardly expect to convert self-styled "godless" individuals to theistic beliefs if professed believers cannot extract from those beliefs at least a basic framework of moral guidelines applicable impartially to all of humanity. Let them now provide the world an appealing and practical summation of their common beliefs in a form suited to fairly resolving disputes within the human family. America and Russia in recent memory worked together to contain the aggression of Hitler. Is it not within the range of possibility that these two powers, as dominant members of the human family, could again join in leading the entire community of nations to the acceptance of basic international law, applied through world courts of justice, and enforced by the moral, economic, and military forces of the entire family?

Let us build for religion a useful role in the Age of Reason. Let us remember the past abuses of religion—not to condemn our efforts to know God, but to deter us from repeating those abuses.

Humanity possesses a resource quite capable of dealing with our major problems. That power is our collective reason. Properly used it can achieve two vital goals: the first is the abolition of war as an agency of human will; the second is the maintenance by each nation of a perpetual balance between its population and its available sources.

A World Congress which will bring together leaders representing the major religions and the fields of science and politics could begin the task of formulating basic ground rules which will permit the establishment of favorable conditions for the continuing, peaceful advancement of civilization.

The Christian contribution might consist of the basic teachings of Christ as contained in the Sermon on the Mount, the Lord's Prayer, and the further directive to render unto Caesar that which is Caesars and to God that which is God's. These concepts would be acceptable to most rational human beings, and would be offensive to very few.

Other contributions would be sought from the Jews, the Muslims, the Hindus, the Confucianists, and from other philosophical branches of the human family to preserve and utilize concepts which have provided guidance and solace for human beings through past ages. Those legacies, selectively adapted to our present situation, will assist humanity in passing through the transition now leading to an enduring Age of Reason.

Human awareness is not exclusively a rational phenomenon. Powerful emotions are a vital part of our nature. Impulses derived from affection, altruism, ambition, and fear often provide stronger motivation than reasoned deliberation. We have a fondness for beauty, mystery, symbolism, and pageantry. These attributes of humanity have played an important role in the development of religious beliefs and practices. Our emotional and esthetic needs must not be neglected as we plan for the ongoing revitalization of religious institutions now and in future ages.

Previous attempts to rationalize religion have not achieved general acceptance. This is explainable in part by the tendency of those efforts to concentrate exclusively on matters of logic and cold doctrinal affairs when ordinary citizens had not yet had adequate exposure to the new vistas in secular knowledge which have been opened through scientific inquiry. Now perhaps a world-wide effort to rethink our religious heritage in a balanced fashion may meet with greater success.

Let us filter the best features of all religions through the fabric of contemporary secular understanding to sift out that which is faulty, discordant, and no longer relevant to human needs. The purified essence of religious experience which remains can become a foundation for a world society in which there will be no war, and in which the needs of humanity can be met through rational efforts.

Let us agree that there may be many pathways to a union with God. A universal concordance of ethical principles can permit each branch of the family of God to continue on its own route to future enlightenment. Doctrines, customs, and ceremonies unique to each religious tradition can continue to evolve in truth as truth is revealed to its believers. Toleration for differing views must be encouraged so long as activities taken in the name of religion respect the rights of others. Beliefs accepted as

direct revelations from God by members of a particular faith should not be disturbed by others so long as they cause no harm to non-believers.

Many theological concepts can be interpreted in manners which reconcile differences. If God is infinite, God can be conceptualized in diverse ways which can be in harmony even while appearing to conflict. A sculptor viewing a rough block of marble may visualize within it a specific figure which is invisible to others. He may be certain of its presence, and may prove his vision by using the tools of his art to release it to general view. Another sculptor viewing the same rough stone may envision a quite different form within it. Yet he may in like manner demonstrate the truth of his views. Both artists can be right even while appearing to disagree. So may it be with the conflicting views of God which have been fashioned by the many religions now in existence. We very often *believe* more than we know and prove with certainty. There is room for marked differences in belief in those areas which range beyond the reach of human reason. Christianity teaches that God is personal and is composed of three identities combined in a single infinite whole. Other religions perceive God in different manners. Like the sculptors, all may be right even while appearing to hold contrary views.

Much of the difficulty with religious beliefs and the frictions they cause stems from the manner in which they are acquired by successive generations. We are born with minds uncluttered by learned knowledge. Our instinctive patterns are less prominent than in most other animals. We are specially adapted to acquiring learned patterns of belief and practice from our surroundings. Each of the diverse human societies throughout the world imparts to its children its unique combinations of custom and understanding through life-long processes of active and passive learning. The most indelible coloring of our attitudes and values is acquired by passive immersion of our culture. We exercise very little conscious selection as we assimilate the language, attitudes, general knowledge, and the unnumbered cultural mind sets of our family and neighbors. The conditioning of our childhood and youth so saturates our natures with the beliefs and emotional patterns of our human environment that it becomes very difficult to drastically modify them later in

life. Stability of group attitudes is particularly evident in the areas of religion and party politics, where rigidly held positions have developed in a wide variety of patterns which reflect the unique historical experience of each nation.

Beliefs and practices acquired without selective choice become so embedded in our natures that it is not easy to uproot them through appeals to reason. Religious and patriotic convictions acquired early in life may become almost immune to contrary forces. It is these deep-rooted attitudes which cause most of the conflicts within and between religious and political factions of the human family.

Conflicts of this sort are quite apparent throughout the world today. If ordinary people everywhere can be caused to recognize the basic nature of our discords we may hope to apply reason and compromise to achieve tolerable, non-violent solutions.

Opposition to reasoned change is reinforced by many perversities. Among these is the concept of heresy—a notion that it is morally wrong to question beliefs clothed in the garments of sanctity. This can be true even when certain doctrines are in total disagreement with the evidence of our senses and the conclusions of our judgment. For many people heresy has its counterpart in politics, where traditional orientations of family and friends may be perpetuated without the active exercise of reason.

It is our cheerful hope that our species is on the threshold of a new age in which our collective intelligence will assert its destined role in guiding the future progress of all life on earth.

If we are to cross that threshold we must not permit reason to be overruled by tradition or by unsupported faith. To ensure for religion a vital role in guiding humanity through future ages society must provide means for its constant renewal and purification by its own ministers working with individuals who are well versed in the sciences and in the general spectrum of human knowledge. A narrow indoctrination in religious belief alone will not be sufficient education to re-think dogma in a manner adequate to withstand the rational testing which will be the lot of all knowledge in future ages.

Communist leaders within Russia today will not be won over to religious doctrines based solely on children's Bible stories or

on anthropomorphic concepts of God. They will not accept articles of faith which are clearly contrary to reason.

Religious teachers now living have a golden opportunity to join with scientific leaders who are theistically oriented to re-interpret from their treasures of traditional beliefs and practices those elements best suited for inclusion in a new appeal to enlightened human reason. The time is at hand for these spokesmen of all faiths to cooperate in formulating basic moral guides for the entire human family.

Hopefully those guides will include an absolute prohibition of aggressive warfare. That single tenet, supplemented by an impartial world court and by effective cooperative enforcement will win general approval by most of humanity. Hopefully, too, they will include other provisions to enhance international cooperation and the sharing of knowledge to address other problems which will confront our species down through the ages. The dawn of an enlightened relationship between humanity and God may be at hand if we will only assert the force of our collective reason.

It is a duty of religious leaders of all persuasions to become sufficiently knowledgeable in all fields of understanding that they can join with secular intellectuals in plotting our course into the future. In this way human intelligence can assure for every creature a suitable role in our earthly corner of this vast cosmos.

XII

To Make Partners of Rivals

FOR MORE THAN FIFTY YEARS America and Russia have been rivals in the arena of world politics. Citizens of both nations have inherited ongoing cultural forces which maintain that competition. The welfare of humanity will be better served if that rivalry can be transformed through rational behavior into a cooperative partnership.

Neither population wants war. Americans have no reason to attack Russia, and only a minority of Russians feel impelled to spread communism over the earth through violent revolution. If the question of war between us were presented to the citizens of both nations in an open plebiscite it would be rejected almost unanimously.

Political leaders on both sides have given primary concern to the military aspects of our confrontation. The world would be better served if they would accept a military standoff, and use their minds and their national resources in seeking non-violent solutions for the frictions which divide us.

Present tensions are rooted mainly in the declared goal of communism to achieve control of the world through revolutionary tactics. This traditional objective has never been convincingly disavowed. Communist revolutionaries continue even now to use violence and subversion to force their system on backward societies. The continuing military buildup of com-

munist armed forces contradicts assurances that they are intended purely for defense. Refusal by communist adversaries to permit verification of their claims of disarmament makes those claims suspect.

The devastation of war between us would be so catastrophic that there could be no victor. Clear heads in Russia and America must now make peaceful approaches take priority over further military preparations.

We cannot end the arms race which now burdens our two countries until we find ways to harmonize our differing economies and political systems. Only then can we establish mutual trust in our respective motives and goals.

When capitalistic societies escape control by monopolies and are not strangled by excessive regulation they tend to imitate the competitive world of nature. Productive enterprises are like living things. Those which arise in response to a need of society and which consistently meet that need survive and prosper. Those which fail to do so wither and die.

Under ideal circumstances there is a continuously evolving "survival of the fittest." Competition in the marketplace causes goods and services to be provided in the most efficient manner possible.

Capitalism usually permits the attainment of high levels of material prosperity for ordinary citizens provided there is access to an adequate resource base.

"Capital" can be defined as accumulated purchasing power. It can be spent for goods and services to gratify its owners, or it can be reinvested at risk in a variety of enterprises in the hope of profit. Owners and managers of capital are "capitalists." In most capitalistic societies the management of capital is subject to some degree of government supervision and regulation. Profits are taxed.

Frequently citizens of a capitalistic state will directly invest their savings in corporate stock shares, making them part owners of large corporations. Sometimes their savings are deposited in banks, or invested in life insurance companies. These funds are then loaned to entrepreneurs in return for interest payments. The loaned capital is applied in a variety of ways, usually productive. Capitalists using their own or borrowed funds endeavor by their managerial skills to harness capital with labor in generating goods and services for profit-

able sale in the marketplace. They may build factories, employ workers, and combine all the elements needed to develop a thriving business. If they are successful, society benefits. If they fail they may lose their capital, and their employees must seek other work. In this role capitalists can be viewed as skilled members of the work force. Their managerial talents orchestrate the complex processes of production and marketing. In doing so they provide employment for themselves and for others.

Historically, capitalistic societies have performed well, even though we have not yet learned how to stabilize production and consumption at high levels, avoiding periodic economic cycles of prosperity and depression. And we have not learned how to control capitalism without strangling it through regulatory excesses.

All advanced societies must have managers. A basic distinction between capitalism and socialism is apparent in the manner of selecting and advancing these individuals. Under capitalism forces of the marketplace strongly influence private owners, whereas under socialism managers are chosen by political figures who may not be directly answerable to the consumers.

In theory, socialistic societies make ownership of the means of production a public function. It is under political control. Very often socialism includes in the public domain other operations such as banking, housing, insurance, and the provision of medical care. Managers of these services are answerable to political officials rather than to the public.

Existing governments in the world display a wide variety of combinations of public and private ownership of the facilities which provide goods, shelter, and services. There are no purely capitalistic or purely socialistic governments. Even the United States has made concessions to public ownership in certain areas such as roads, the postal service, selected utilities, and the financing of social insurance.

Communist Russia and some of its satellites have made limited concessions to private ownership and enterprise in such areas as housing and agriculture.

Regardless of political labels, human beings vary to an extreme degree in their desires and abilities for achieving wealth and power. These traits, although valuable for survival

in a competitive world, are not the only qualities or the best qualities for establishing the social value of any individual. Many of our greatest advances have been contributed by human beings with little desire for material reward, or fame, or political power.

And conversely, the responsibility for much human tragedy and suffering rests upon the shoulders of other human beings who, through the accidents of history and heredity, have been afflicted with excessive endowments of those competitive and aggressive traits.

The ultimate strength of a nation derives from the total applied talents and energies of all its people. Different social systems and circumstances advance to positions of power a spectrum of human character types.

This is true today in a world dominated by the rivalry between communism and a variety of capitalistically oriented societies. In the race for power and influence both systems favor individuals who combine certain abilities with ambition. Our society rewards successful entrepreneurs in the economic field. In politics we advance individuals who consistently win votes, even though their true merit may fall short of the image they project to the voters while campaigning for office.

Socialism and communism display a variety of economic and political patterns. Ostensibly, both place ownership of the "means of production" in the hands of "the people." Marxist socialists, or communists believe that they must aggressively stamp out all competing systems. They rely on rule by the Party leadership, and use elections only as a technical formality for registering voter approval. Non-Marxist socialist states are "non-violent," and do not attempt to subjugate their neighbors. They also accept voter control through open and honest elections.

Both socialist systems give power primarily to those who are ambitious and who are adept at manipulating political forces within somewhat "closed" systems. Under communism in particular economic leadership positions are occupied by individuals who are first of all capable of using the system for their own advancement. Political considerations are more important than concern for the marketplace under both varieties of socialism.

Unregulated capitalism may witness after only a few generations the hereditary concentration of wealth (capital) and associated power in the hands of a minority of the citizenry. That power is in theory subject to voter control although in practice it can grow to unhealthy proportions.

Unrestrained communism may encourage a parallel concentration of political power in the hands of a self-perpetuating ruling class. And because of the monolithic structure of the state, political control gives virtually complete economic control to the political hierarchy. A ruling faction which also controls the police, the military, and the channels of public information is thus in a position of absolute power which cannot be matched by any combination of political and economic forces operating under existing capitalistic systems.

Without the safeguards of meaningful elections the communistic system can lead to severe abuses of power, as occurred under Stalin.

A major problem facing theorists who would unite America and Russia in a friendly partnership approach to the future will be the devising of changes in our respective systems which will make them compatible while preserving the best features of each.

Under ideal democratic capitalism *all* citizens should be capitalists. Such a system is achievable, and could be brought about by structuring our laws and attitudes in appropriate fashion. Enlightened self-interest is a potent force. Properly stimulated and controlled, it can bring about maximum production by all members of society in both the material and intellectual spheres. And it can do so while at the same time it permits society collectively to provide adequate care for those individuals who are not capable of running the full competitive course.

Capital accumulation is not restricted to capitalistic systems. Socialist and communist societies also generate large stores of capital in the form of factories, farms, mines, housing, and other material things. Title to this wealth may be vested officially in the name of the people. Actual control, however, is in the hands of politically controlled managers. Their advancement is subject to political considerations and is only indirectly in compliance with the wishes of ordinary citizens. Under "democratic" socialism, as in Sweden, politicians are ultimately

answerable to the voters. It has not been demonstrated that managerial systems operated in this way are more effective than those in which forces of the marketplace are more directly applied.

In countries ruled by the Marxist variety of socialism political and economic power is vested in a small party "elite." Experience as well as a realistic view of human nature suggests that this arrangement fosters the development of an entrenched ruling class which is not necessarily responsive to the will of the people.

The existence of special stores, special hospitals, and special privileges for party members and public officials in many communist countries confirms this belief.

It is true that socialist nations ruled by oligarchic power groups can be effective in manipulating labor and capital. Such nations have demonstrated the ability to maintain large armed forces and to construct major industrial projects. They can do so with little regard for the prosperity and personal desires of ordinary citizens. There is no real concern for personal freedom.

But these nations have not been as successful as many capitalistic societies in improving general living standards or in advancing the frontiers of knowledge. Unelected oligarchies may move contrary to the will of their own people. So long as the leaders are wise and benevolent the merits of these systems may outweigh their faults. But when the rulers are uninformed or despotic the people and their neighbors suffer.

When the government of a powerful nation builds barriers along its borders to imprison its own people it reveals its illegitimacy. When it neglects the material welfare of those people and enslaves them in a military machine to extend its tyranny over the world it voids its right to govern. Both America and Russia have faults. We must correct the faults and devise means for making our two systems compatible.

In the United States we must control excessive concentrations of capital and power while we encourage total capital formation in widely dispersed forms involving all the people. By making a portion of a worker's wages completely free of taxation when it is invested in productive savings we can induce widespread participation by everyone in the risks and rewards of an incentive economy. Moderation in the taxation of corporations, and exemption of dividends from taxation would be further in-

centives to adequate capital formation. Workers would become interested owners of the corporations which employ them. These steps would assure the continuous renewal and modernization of productive facilities.

Prudent changes in tax laws dealing with the ownership and inheritance of corporations and agricultural land will assist in decentralizing ownership. Private social insurance backed by invested capital can be encouraged to assume primary responsibility for retirement and other insurable needs.

In this way a citizen who has devoted a lifetime to the production of goods and services for others will retire with financial security assured. Families deprived of wage earners by untimely death or disability will be cared for. The role of government can be reduced to supporting the truly indigent through general taxation.

Excessive concentration of wealth in the control of a privileged class can be avoided through prudent restrictions on inheritance. As a general principle society should not limit the wealth and property which an industrious person may accumulate in a lifetime if abuses are prevented. But the amounts of capital which can be inherited by others should be severely curtailed.

All citizens should feel the incentives of need. All should be stimulated by the promise of reward for effort. Wealthy individuals may be permitted to bequeath to their dependants a modest endowment of accumulated capital. Providing for one's family is a socially desirable function. And the tradition of continuous land ownership in a farming family, or the continuous participation of following generations in a family business can have positive effects so long as excessive concentrations of capital are avoided.

There should be provisions for wealthy individuals to endow charitable trusts or foundations serving the general welfare. But these agencies should have limited lives, perhaps 25 years. This will avoid the development of perpetual institutional concentrations of wealth which might fall prey to control by individuals who are not dedicated to the best interests of the public.

The ownership of real estate and other means of production should be a matter of public record. Owners of stock shares should be identified. Secret ownership through off-shore trusts

and other arrangements can be regulated through controls on the distribution of income.

A problem in capitalistic societies has been our inability to combine full employment, optimal sharing of wealth, and stable, high level economic activity. Socialism has also failed to achieve this goal, although unemployment rates are sometimes concealed by means of wholesale employment of citizens in menial jobs directly financed by the central government.

Capitalism depends primarily upon an appeal to individual interests. Socialism, at least in theory, caters to altruistic impulses. The apparent advantage of capitalism in the production and distribution of goods and services in the world of today may reflect the fact that self-interest is a more prominent quality of human nature than benevolence.

Minimum wage laws have attempted to establish the value of human labor by legislative fiat. If compensation levels could be so conveniently arranged, all citizens would be wealthy. In real life the marketplace is the final determinant for what will actually be paid for goods and services. Minimum wage legislation results in mandatory unemployment for the marginal workers it seeks to help. Individuals who are incapable of providing services which justify the established minimum simply do not work. In our society they are usually supported in idleness through "entitlement" programs paid for by taxes levied on other citizens who are at work. All too often, such subsidies are managed on an "all-or-none" basis. If the income of the recipient rises above a specified cut-off level, all benefits are lost. There are few incentives to stimulate ongoing efforts by the recipient to become self-supporting. All welfare programs should be *graduated.* Those who need a little assistance should receive a little. Those who are totally unable to provide for themselves should be supported by society. All programs of this nature should contain built-in features which tend to stimulate self-reliance instead of fostering greater dependency.

"Unemployment insurance" programs have been mandated by many states in an effort to support workers during times of economic stagnation. The costs of such programs have been levied against employers, even though it is the employees who are the prime beneficiaries. This situation should be reversed or modified. Employers with lost markets, idle plants, and un-

productive capital are not in a position to continue maintaining their work force.

In an ideal society *all* human beings should be motivated to develop and apply their talents and productive abilities. Only the very old, the very young, and the very handicapped are incapable of performing some useful work. No one capable of performing socially useful work should be supported in idleness.

Programs of public assistance must demonstrate a reasonable concern for true disability. Sound programs will require that citizens seeking financial help accept employment, preferably in the private sector, at wage levels determined by the marketplace. Families should not be permitted to live for successive generations on public doles.

In many instances wages available in the private sector for marginal jobs will fall below the level required for maintaining an adequate living standard. In these cases society should provide income *supplements* from tax sources. As a last resort government agencies should establish public works programs to keep all members of society productively employed during periods of economic depression.

Elimination of minimum wage requirements will open many marginal or entry-level positions. Young adults and partially disabled older workers can thus be encouraged to accept employment commensurate with their skills.

Overly generous programs intended to benefit employees sometimes result in unforeseen loss of jobs. Capital is easily transferred from country to country, and tends to seek circumstances offering the highest return and greatest security. Manufactured products can also be moved from country to country at relatively low cost. Unrealistically costly employee benefit programs such as Social Security, Unemployment Insurance, and Retirement and Disability Benefits may be paid for by both employer and employee. Yet they promise immediate benefits for only the employee. As the world becomes more industrialized, trade barriers are often reduced. Excessive "fringe benefits" can then result in widespread unemployment and can cause he export of capital and production facilities to countries with lower total wage levels.

An optimal balance must be sought between the conflicting interests of employers and employees. Supplemental benefits

are employee benefits and should be recognized as a part of employee compensation. At present the costly administration of these programs is borne in large part by the employer, who must maintain large clerical staffs to keep records and to complete numerous forms and reports. Employers are also required to withhold and pay federal and state income taxes for their employees, assuming the administrative costs as a part of their business overhead.

It would be appropriate for *citizens* of a free society to assume responsibility for financing and handling the programs which accrue to their benefit. All expenditures by employers for workers should be indentifiable as wages. Clerical work associated with such programs should be done by private or government agencies at worker expense.

Further obstacles to full employment take the form of numerous regulations regarding safety, environmental impacts, and many other aspects of industrial activities. These are backed by large numbers of government employees. The objectives of such programs are noble, but it is quite possible that they could be achieved through means which stress private initiatives in meeting reasonable standards. Domestic service in past times provided useful work for a large segment of the population. Prudent planning could restore many jobs today for maids, gardeners, chauffeurs, butlers, mother's helpers and caretakers for the elderly. With proper training and motivation many citizens now living on welfare payments could be brought back into the work force in these positions. These tasks are very useful to society. Their performance could help develop a sense of pride in these individuals, and could lead to further advancement.

In America today a working mother who would like to employ a part-time helper finds herself handicapped by requirements that she regularly fill out and forward to government agencies complex forms dealing with social security and other purposes. The paper work alone makes the project unattractive to her. Many middle income families would benefit if they could employ a full-time maid, even though the household is well equipped with modern appliances. The same tangle of employer regulations in addition to minimum wage laws makes this very difficult. Yet there are in society many individuals who could be benefited financially and socially if they could

obtain such employment as a starting point for their own advancement. *Creating jobs should be made easy.*

A strong inducement to maintain full employment would be a provision in income tax law which would *make all employee compensation a deductible item* for all employers. Such a condition bolstered by appropriate training programs would restore domestic service as a significant fraction of the national work force. Coupled with reasonable provisions for requiring acceptance of available job openings and with income supplementation where needed, this approach would do much to shrink present welfare roles. The same approach could be used in the case of certain agricultural occupations, which today must be filled by migrant laborers from other countries despite the existence of millions of American citizens living on relief or unemployment benefits while those jobs go begging.

We should experiment with methods for simplifying the role of the employer. When total wage packages have been agreed upon through collective bargaining or by mutual agreement, the employer's obligation should be limited to providing each employee with a single paycheck at appropriate intervals. This check should be made payable to the employee and to a designated fiscal agent. The agent might be a union representative or an employee of an approved private agency. The fiscal agent shall then withhold the total amount required for all employee benefits and taxes, and distribute the balance to the employee. A small amount should be withheld from each check sufficient to maintain the fiscal agency.

The employer's obligations shall be fulfilled when he forwards to federal and state revenue offices quarterly reports listing the employees and their total compensation.

The fiscal agent shall then remit the employee's taxes to the appropriate agencies, and allocate funds to various programs for health insurance, retirement programs, unions, and the like. Payments for "unemployment insurance" should be deducted from the employees' compensation since only they are beneficiaries of such programs. When legislators are tempted to expand costly benefit programs, they will be restrained by employee resistance. Employees should be given reports at regular intervals which indicate the amounts which have been withheld from their checks. They should also be provided an itemized report listing the disposition of the funds withheld. In this way

every worker will understand more clearly the total cost of his labor to his employer. At the same time, the task of the employer will be simplified by relieving him of the administrative costs of the fringe benefit program as a whole.

Paychecks could be forwarded directly to the designated fiscal agent if the employee desires, but they could not be cashed without the endorsement of the agent.

This approach will emphasize the distinction between the function of the employer and the employee. It stresses individual responsibility. It will make all members of society properly aware of the costs of benefit programs of all kinds, public and private. A payment system of this general nature will simplify the task of the employer. It will make it much easier for young workers to become gainfully employed. And it will enable the workers as a social group to make informed choices in establishing affordable limits for socially beneficial programs of all kinds.

Provisions should be made for surviving spouses of deceased citizens and for separated partners in broken marriages. The needs of children should be considered. But upon the death of those who have accumulated large stores of wealth the bulk of their estates should revert to the government for orderly sale in the marketplace to other workers who are motivated to purchase those assets by economic and tax incentives. In this manner all workers may become active capitalists.

With proper incentives to stimulate thrift and industry, and with these provisions for avoiding excessive concentrations of wealth in the hands of a few, a democratic society can be assured of the continuous generation and recirculation of capital in amounts necessary to meet all its productive needs.

By making citizens primarily responsible for their own welfare and by establishing a climate which will make this possible, all individuals will be encouraged to exert their best efforts. The role of government can be reduced. And society, being composed of strongly motivated individuals, will achieve high levels of accomplishment. Wealth will increase in magnitude, and will be made to serve the interests of all the people.

It will permit balanced budgets for governments, sound currencies, and stable savings programs for private citizens. It will eliminate the financial problem which afflicts most democracies when opportunistic legislators seek to buy the support of voters

by "benefits" from the public treasury. Such demands invariably outrun the ability of the economy to sustain them through tax revenues. Taxation Increases to a point at which economic activity is inhibited. Expediency prevails. The benefits are voted, regardless of long-range effects, and are financed through increasing and unending borrowing. Government debts are then insidiously defaulted by debasing the currency with accelerating inflation. The debts are simply "monetized"—paid off with new paper money. All prices rise as the unit value of the dollar shrinks. Savings and life insurance policies are eroded away. Crisis follows crisis.

Objective observers in America agree that our system has many faults. While they may not agree with these specific proposals for corrective action, they will generally support the concept of experimenting with a variety of approaches which seek to reach the goal of the greatest good for the greatest number. Our system *is* based upon government which requires the consent of the governed. It does permit the will of the people the final choice.

Capitalism modified and perfected in this *general* manner will eliminate many of the faults which today justify criticism. It will serve as a model for other social systems which stress collectivism first, and which submerge the individual in nameless "masses." If these modifications in our system will encourage our self-proclaimed communist adversaries to match our efforts with parallel modifications in their *political* system, it will become possible for a wide variety of economic approaches to compete for the approval and emulation of the world in a peaceful manner. Finally, it will help preserve personal freedom.

Honest observers in Russia must be aware of certain shortcomings in their Marxist society. Perhaps we can suggest specific changes which will be acceptable to the rulers and ruled of Russia, and which will make possible a peaceful evolution into the future unmarred by military actions, and unburdened by excessive military spending in both our societies.

How Russia manages her internal *economy* need not concern us. The rapidly developing universal world market for raw materials and for finished products and foodstuffs will compel enlightened leaders in all nations to accommodate their actions to that market. In this regard Russia will enjoy certain advant-

ages, for her vast territories makes her almost self-sufficient in all areas except food production. Our problems with Russia are rooted in basic *political* differences, not economic ones.

Political and economic power in Russia and in other communist nations is vested in the Communist Party. Once in power that party tolerates no effective opposition. The party is elitist. Only a minority of the citizens, usually 5 or 6 per cent., are admitted to membership. Members are chosen by the party, not by the general public. And all members are subject to party discipline. They must support policies officially promulgated as the party line. Dissent can be dangerous.

Within the party political progress is directed to a large degree by a few individuals who have managed to climb the difficult and dangerous paths leading from ordinary membership to the pinnacles of power.

As in many religious organizations, advancement in the party hierarchy requires a high level of orthodoxy in thought and behavior. It also requires skill in political infighting and, on occasion, a talent for physical survival.

For more than 60 years politics and economic processes in Russia have been controlled by leaders steeped in unopposed socialist traditions, and thoroughly indoctrinated by teachings extracted from Marxist gospels. Efforts to adapt to the sweeping social and industrial changes of the past century have been crippled by slavish devotion to a social prophet who lived in a world vastly different from the realities of today.

The views of ordinary citizens within Russia and the discoveries of multitudes of meritorious thinkers outside her borders have had little influence in redirecting Russian policy except as they have been filtered through the minds and prejudices of disciplined and often fanatic party leaders.

The lack of an opposition party, and the difficulties involved in advancing or debating contrary opinions within the party continue to compound the problem.

If there were a better means for introducing "feedback" from the common people and from other sources of new and contrary opinion into the upper levels of the communist power structure it might be possible for Russian communism to evolve peacefully into harmonious coexistence with other political systems.

The problems of continuing bellicose confrontation between differing political and economic systems demand rational solutions and new approaches, not fanatic loyalty to outmoded beliefs and methods.

There are undoubtedly many shades of opinion within Russian ranks which are concealed by official party pronouncements. This applies to all aspects of life; military matters, social targets and methods, industrial and agricultural organization, religion, and consumer needs of all kinds.

Today disagreements and open debate about these subjects are inhibited by fears of punishment for those whose views stray too far from the official party line.

Karl Marx has been dead for over a century. He was not a God. Efforts by doctrinaire followers to deify him have not changed that fact. He was not a good economist and was even worse as a prophet. World political and industrial evolution have not proceeded as he anticipated. His understanding of economic processes was based upon observations of the early industrial revolution in Western Europe. Trends apparent then have been replaced by others which he did not foresee.

His notions of class exploitation of "workers" by "capitalists" was simplistic. It did not anticipate the vertical and horizontal social mobility of modern societies. His concept of "surplus value" was incomplete, and did not consider the multiplication of labor productivity by inventiveness, mechanization, abundant cheap energy, and mass competitive markets composed for the most part of members of the "working class."

Marx believed that exploited workers in industrialized nations throughout the world would throw off their chains and rise up on a world revolution to seize the reins of power from capitalistic masters. He prophesied a world Utopia, to be achieved through violence and class warfare. He predicted a society without property, without crime, without police, populated by ideal human beings who would not require legal restraints for antisocial behavior when they had been liberated once and for all from their capitalistic heritage.

Communist leaders today excuse their failure to achieve socialist goals by citing outside influences, accepting no blame for their inadequate policies. They protest that communism cannot reach its destined flowering until the last vestiges of

capitalism have been forever destroyed, even if this requires universal world warfare of catastrophic magnitude.

There was no expectation in the dreams of Marx, or Engels, or Lenin for the economic "miracle" of modern industrial Japan, which has provided its overpopulated, resource-deficient, capitalistic islands with a living standard far better than exists today in Russia, a resource-wealthy state ruled for over 60 years by avowed disciples of their communist philosophy.

Although Marx failed as an economist and prophet, he was more successful as a political schemer and revolutionist, unhampered by what he regarded as outmoded codes of "bourgeois morality."

He was successful in devising strategies through which small groups of militant followers using force, violence, false labels, and appealing slogans could overthrow existing governments. Not hesitating to use murder and "political" assassination when it served their purposes, and acting always in the name of the "masses" but actually striving for their own narrow goals, his followers have successfully seized power in many nations throughout the globe. And having achieved power, they have consolidated their position by following the teachings of Marx in establishing absolute control over the police, the military, the schools, and the channels of information. When they have felt securely entrenched within their own borders they have consistently attempted to export the "communist revolution" to neighboring territories, posing as liberators and reformers while using violent and subversive means to conquer new victims who are in their turn armed, indoctrinated, and used as pawns in further militaristic and subversive expansions.

The revolutionary communist "morality" preached by Marx held that all actions were to be judged solely as they related to achieving world control by his followers. Treachery, deceit, economic exploitation, and military aggression were all to be regarded as "good" if they helped advance the cause of world revolution. Actions or thoughts which party officials decreed to be "counter-revolutionary" were considered "evil."

Today, even though the economic visions of Marx have been discredited, his followers throughout the world continue to incite revolution and war, successfully employing subversive tactics prescribed over a century ago, and modified and perfected by trial and error since then. Yet nowhere on earth have

his doctrines demonstrably improved the material welfare of their captive populations to the level which has been achieved in many capitalistic societies.

Communist reformers have demonstrated a remarkable ability for exploiting the economic shortcomings of capitalistic societies for their own purposes. There *are* unfortunately many situations today in which poor people are systematically abused by entrenched ruling classes allied with military leaders. They misuse the capitalistic system and show no interest in promoting effective corrective measures which would permit fair material rewards for those at the bottom of the economic ladder. Very often entrenched religious leaders oppose measures which are essential to long-range prosperity for overpopulated, poverty-stricken populations, such as prudent measures to control population. Because our political system, by its very character relatively open and democratic, has failed to pursue a policy of aggressive and subversive proselytism, we have not done all that we might have in assisting those nations to advance along democratic lines. We now find ourselves in the awkward position of having little choice between abandoning those exploited people to communist enslavement, or continuing to work with self-centered, short-sighted rulers who are very slow to accept needed social change.

In some instances we could do more than we have done thus far in applying moral and economic pressures to achieve needed reforms.

And when it is clearly apparent that this path is blocked we must be more open-minded in our dealings with "leftist" reform movements. Revolution probably *was* necessary in Cuba. It may be the only way to improve the lot of the people in certain other Latin American countries.

Cooperation with communist leaders is hazardous, but in selected cases may be a better long-range alternative than continued cooperation with the military-wealthy cliques now in control of certain small nations.

Castro was not totally without merit. He *has* accomplished much of value for his people. He is a rational man, although handicapped in objectivity because of his communist indoctrination and ties. He could be reached by proposals for rational cooperative approaches to the future if such proposals are clear-

ly demonstrated to serve the best interests of the United States *and* Cuba.

Many communist leaders and citizens still retain a capacity for rational behavior. Cautious cooperation with such individuals may facilitate a peaceful advance into the next century of human history.

Over 150 years ago a French traveler in America, Alexis de Tocqueville, foresaw the coming rivalry between two giants in the family of nations: America and Russia. Today we have an opportunity to determine that that rivalry will be conducted in peaceful competition. Hopefully, that competition will demonstrate for the world the best features of both systems.

Yet we must always bear in mind the record and the avowed purposes of the communist movement itself. People have been exploited and have suffered injustice under capitalism. But capitalism does permit evolutionary change. Communism has demonstrated an even greater ruthlessness in dealing with populations captured by its appealing slogans and manipulated revolutions. We must not forget the Kulaks of Russia, the many other victims of Stalin's purges, the extermination of Cambodians, and the intransigence of the communist oligarchs in Korea, Viet Nam, and Afghanistan.

But while maintaining vigilant awareness of these dark aspects of communism, we must continue to deal with it as an existing reality in our world. We must apply what leverage we can to achieving changes in its philosophy, and must continue to appeal to the minds of its leaders. We must demonstrate that there are other effective remedies for the world's problems than those of revolution and war.

Today many Russian citizens are aware of the divergence between reality and the dreams of Karl Marx. Unfortunately the political machinery of communism does not permit them to advance their views effectively. The party leadership brooks no opposition, It continues to speak with one voice. Those who disagree are subject to accusations of reactionary or counter-revolutionary thought and are usually effectively silenced. But truth cannot be suppressed forever.

A few basic changes in party mechanisms in the Communist world would permit evolutionary changes which could lead to a common ground on which the entire world might advance to an Age of Reason. We should advocate those steps at every

opportunity, while at the same time we constantly monitor and improve our own system with open-minded objectivity.

It would be advantageous if our Russian friends would permit the development of two wings within their existing party organization. These might be designated as "conservative" and "progressive." Each wing would develop its own school of communist thought. Each would attract to its banner those party members whose convictions are in harmony with its professed philosophy and goals.

Party congresses could then consider and deal with specific proposals in a manner which would encourage meaningful choices. Orderly changes in course for the Russian ship of state could be effected in a manner which reflects expressions of organized opinion.

And because party members come from all walks of life and are in daily contact with "non-political" citizens, there will be a better opportunity for public sentiment to influence the direction of party decisions.

At the present time the party places on the ballot for national elections a single slate of candidates. Votes of ordinary citizens are limited to expressing approval or disapproval of that slate. Since there is no opposition, voting is little more than a ritual.

Ideally, each faction within the party would be permitted to name its list of candidates for consideration by the general public. But if this is too drastic a change, the party might continue to put forward a single list of candidates after the nominees of both wings have been voted upon with secret balloting by all members of the party as a whole.

The party might continue to be "elitist," selecting its own members from among interested applicants. But some memberships might be made *elective* through voting by non-members in factories, collective farms, and other divisions of society.

It is possible that such an infusion of democratic practice into the mechanisms of party rule will make Russia a more effective democracy than those western nations in which voting is open to all citizens and in which elections sometimes become popularity contests among candidates, with insufficient informed concern for fundamental issues by the voters themselves.

Many communist nations now call themselves "Democratic People's Republics." Adoption of these proposals will help them reflect in practice the nature proclaimed by their names.

A "selective democracy" sustained through suffrage standards of a high order, using the mechanism of the Communist Party may ultimately prove to be a superior form of government. If political power is transmitted from the people to those in ruling positions in a manner which reflects knowledge and understanding by those who participate in elections, government of the people by the best representatives of the people may become a reality.

Experiments with selective democracy may be more easily accomplished in Russia than in the United States. It is politically more feasible to expand voting privileges among a people long accustomed to severe restrictions than to establish restrictions of the Suffrage among a people for whom it has long been universally available, even though it may have been neglected or abused.

These proposals for political and economic change are of an elementary and general nature. Wiser and more perceptive individuals can provide better plans for achieving a peaceful, cooperative family of nations through intelligent compromise and innovation. We must keep that ideal ever in mind. And we must encourage leaders in all nations to seek it with perseverance and imagination.

Our world is facing its most grave crisis in the crescendo of preparations for nuclear war. If human leaders fail to defuse this threat they abandon the gift of reason.

Rational planning and reasonable compromise can develop acceptable solutions. Russia and the United States have both experienced the evils of war. The Russian people have suffered grievously. More war is not the answer!

Our leaders must develop a common awareness as human beings. We must face world problems primarily as partners and only secondarily as friendly competitors advancing individual philosophies.

Acting together our two nations can advance the cause of knowledge and material prosperity for all the people of the earth. We can lead the effort to deal effectively with population pressure and resource depletion. We can eliminate nuclear weapons. We can confine national military forces within their native borders.

Above all, through our example and assistance we can lead all nations to an acceptance of rule by law in international affairs,

applied through world courts, and enforced when necessary by co-operative international military forces.

Together we can lead the world over the threshold of an enduring Age of Reason.

Epilogue

Every age has its problems. In these pages I have expressed the thoughts of one American relating to the problems which plague the world in the closing years of the twentieth century.

Intelligence is the capacity to know and to use Truth. Intelligence acquires Wisdom when it is well informed and compassionate.

Common Sense reflects the wisdom shared by ordinary human beings.

The Common Sense of collective humanity is sufficient to deal with the problems that confront us. We must apply it resolutely in our domestic and international activities, encouraging other nations and their citizens to join with us in building a rational world order—an Age of Reason.

And as we contend with our interhuman problems, let us be ever mindful of our shepherd's role in the larger world of Nature.

Robert Christian